THE

HISTORY of the TURKISH,

OR

OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

VOL. III,

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HISTORY of the TURKISH,

OR

OTTOMAN EMPIRE,

FROM ITS FOUNDATION IN 1300,

TO THE PEACE OF BELGRADE IN 1740.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

AN HISTORICAL DISCOURSE

ON

MAHOMET AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

TRANSLATED from the FRENCH of MIGNOT,

By A. HAWKINS, Esq.

QUIDQUID DELIRANT REGES, PLECTUNTUR ACHIVI.

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Turkish, or Ottoman Empire,

From its Foundation in 1300, to the Peace of BELGRADE in 1740.

AMURATH IV.

SEVENTEENTH REIGN.

THREE days after fultan Mustapha's having J.C. 1623. refused to appear in the divan, the troops & repaired in order to the outer court of the feraglio, crying: "Long live our powerful mo-" narch Amurath IV." This prince, as we have faid, was hardly fifteen years old, when he was All the Amurath placed on the throne of his ancestors. bashaws of the different orders, sangiacs, agas, is proand principal officers both of the troops and ulema, and particularly of the spahis and janissaries, were affembled in the divan. The mufti asked them if they would have Amurath for their emperor. All replied with shouts of approbation and VOL. III.

J.C. 1623, and joy. On this, the young prince, with great & 1033. majesty of speech, recommended to the musti and the grand vizier to make the laws be respected, and to re-establish order, too much neglected in the empire. The next day the new monarch was conducted by water, in great state, to Jub mosque, where he performed the corban: that is, meat and bread were distributed to the people in the name of the emperor. This is a custom established among the Turks for great rejoicing days. The mufti girded the fword on Amurath, after which the new emperor made his entrance on horseback through Adrianople gate. The people remarked, with admiration, the grace and majesty of Amurath's mien, who, in a tender age, displayed already the appearance of a great prince. Mus-Mustapha, tapha was again shut up for the second time in the place from whence he had been taken. No up for the attempt was made on his life: the religion of the Turks orders mad people to be respected, as predestinated to celestial glory, and their days are facred to all that acknowledge the Alcoran.

his predeeeffor, is again shut fecond time.

> The first use that Amurath made of his authority, was an act of rigour and justice. The bashaw of Grand Cairo, lately arrived at Constantinople, was accused by several timarians of various oppressions. The emperor would have this affair examined in the divan; and, on the accused's being found guilty, he was condemned, not to the bow-string, but to be beheaded. The confication of his property badly acquired began

to fill up the void space which the profusions of Heg. 1032, the last reign had left in the public treasury.

The new monarch, though so young, promised to put the sinances in as much order, as they had 'till then been in consusion. As the revolt of Abassa the bashaw of Erzerum, and the affairs of Europe which we shall soon speak of, required considerable expences, the emperor laid a tax on all officers that were not of the military, and on all merchants, in order that those who made considerable profits might contribute, more than the other subjects, to the expences of the empire.

Meanwhile Abassa, assisted by the bashaw of Aleppo and feveral other fangiacs, put himfelf at the head of the rebels who ravaged Natolia, and who prevented the gathering of the imposts. This rebel, as we have faid, covered his outrageous proceedings against the fovereign authority with the specious pretext of avenging the blood of Othman. He pretended that this prince had appeared to him in a dream, recommending him to facrifice to his manes feventy thousand janisfaries or spahis; that this illustrious martyr had promifed him, in the name of the prophet, constant victory. Enthusiasm and the love of booty increased the number of Abassa's soldiers. troops were more formidable, because, under pretence of punishing the spahis and janisfaries, they unmercifully maffacred all that they found in The janissaries assembled every day in order to obtain orders, by their clamours, to march

J.C. 1623. against these implacable enemies. The sultan, 1033. who faw more than one quarrel to determine, ordered that all who received any pay whatfoever from the empire, should assemble in the chief town of each fangiacate, and that the bashaws should levy as many troops as they were able to pay, in order to make war at the fame time both in Europe and Asia.

In fuch difagreeable circumstances, the empe-J.C. 1624 ror wished to confirm the alliance which Othman & 1034. had made with the Poles. Notwithstanding the avidity of the grand vizier, who advised his master to exact a tribute from these Christians, the young prince was fufficiently prudent not to attempt to augment the power of his sceptre, whilst it was enough to maintain that which could be wrested from him. The duke of Sbarauski, ambassador from the king and republic of Poland, had an audience of the fultan. The treaty of Othman received a new fanction, without the Turks' making any fresh demand. It was necessary to keep the old tributaries in order, prior to an idea of bringing new ones under subjection. And indeed the Crimean Tartary threatened strongly to revolt. The khan was dead. Amurath IV. immediately on his afcending the throne, had named, according to the right of the Ottoman monarchs, Mahud, the eldest son of the last khan, to succeed to the throne of his father. The Tartars had always adhered to this nomination; but this time, these warlike people would fain take advantage

vantage of the supposed weakness of the empire, J.C. 1624. to shake off the yoke. They all declared in an & 1034affembly, that they would have Mehemet, the The new fecond fon of the last khan, for their master, emperor fends his without giving any other reason, than the defire fleet aof opposing the choice of Amurath IV. who had Tartarian named the eldest. The fultan, who beheld two his grand formidable enemies at once, exerted every effort an army which the misfortunes of the times would admit those of of. The grand vizier, Chusain, was ordered to Asia. march to Amasia against Abassa, and the captain bashaw to proceed with the fleet against the Tartars; but the latter had very few land forces, as the empire contained more rebellious foldiers than faithful fervants.

The instructions given the captain bashaw, on his departure, were to make use of lenity and ad- The Tardress with a people who, though martial, had a khan been accustomed for so many years to consider will of the the Turks rather as masters than sovereigns para- grand feignior. The admiral entered into Amurath's views. On his arrival at Caffa, the capital of Tartary, where the chiefs of the hordes were affembled, he entered the port as a friend, faying that he was come, not to force their fuffrages in favor of one of the two brothers, but to be a witness of the election in the name of the emperor of the Ottomans, and to fet on the throne him of the two princes that should have most votes. By favor of these friendly appearances, the captain bashaw was admitted without resis-

J.C. 1624 tance, and honored as the envoy of their fove-1034 reign paramount. He neglected nothing to prevail on the chiefs to declare khan the prince whom Amurath had made choice of; and when he thought himself certain of a majority, he appointed the election at the gates of the town. Two standards were set up in a plain at some diftance from each other. The captain bashaw kept in the middle with the principal officers of his army. He declared aloud, that all those who would have Mahud for mafter, should range themselves under the white standard on his making a fignal; that those, on the contrary, who persisted for Mehemet, should repair to the red standard. All the chiefs being affembled, the captain bashaw faw, with as much chagrin as furprise, that they all made towards the red standard and proclaimed Mehemet with loud acclamations. The Turkish admiral having declared that he could not confirm this election without new orders from the Porte, prince Mahud, followed by the few Tartars that had declared for him, went to the captain bashaw, and prevailed on him by great folicitation to debark his land forces, in hopes the Tartars would respect the janissaries and timarians, whom they had never yet fought against, and whom they were atcustomed to follow to the war. Though Calil had more than a hundred fail, he had only ten thousand land forces on board. These troops drew up in order of battle in the same plain where Mehemet had been elected. The Tartarian cavalry feigned a flight;

a flight; but seeing themselves pursued with pre- J.C. 1624. cipitation and disorder, they drew the Turks & 1034into an ambuscade, where thirty thousand men, They beat quite fresh and well posted, charged this dif- his troops perfed infantry, fatigued and incapable of forming purfuing them. again. The Turks made hardly any refistance. The carnage would have been general if Mehemet, who had interest to please his enemies, had not given quarter to the Turks before they asked it. He restored at a low price fifteen hundred prisoners taken by his troops; and permitted the veffels (of which he could have taken a great number) to leave the port of Caffa.

To complete this difaster, the Cossacks took A cossack advantage of the absence of the Ottoman fleet to fleet arrives in pass the Bosphorus and alarm even Constanti- Constanti-This martial nation was at that time as alarms the formidable by fea as land, and made continual cityravages. Their long, flight vessels, having each ten oars, had the prow and stern alike, so as to attack by either end. The manœuvres of the Coffacks were much quicker than those of any other nation. Moreover, their extreme fobriety, agility, strength, and laborious way of life, made them undertake the longest and most perilous cruifes. A hundred and fifty fail, having entered the channel of the Black fea, landed fome troops, who pillaged all the towns and country houses on the two coasts of Europe and Asia. There was not a fingle galley left in the port of Constantinople. Five hundred faicks or other light veffels

Heg. 1033, & 1034.

J.C. 1624 were armed with all speed; the port was shut with an iron chain; and whilst this multitude of fmall veffels made head against the Coffack fleet, which was ranged in a femi-circle before the chain of the port, twenty thousand men, regular troops and others raised in haste, were distributed at Pera, Galata, Scutari, and all the environs of Constantinople. Nothing can be compared to the consternation which was spread in the capital on this occasion. As terror often renders men cruel, feveral bashaws proposed slaughtering all the Christians in Constantinople, lest they should have fecret intelligence with the Coffacks. The wifest members of the divan represented, that, to irritate the Franks by fuch a cruelty would be but a bad way to fecure themselves against them. The coffacks, who aimed only at booty, made no preparation for fighting; they stretched off and returned feveral fuccessive days to the same station in order to augment the inquietude and take advantage of the confusion that they caused in the town by ravaging and burning the lighthouses and neighbouring villages. This infult convinced the divan of the necessity of guarding Constantinople by sea. The captain bashaw and his fleet were recalled in hafte. The grand election of seignior was willing to appear to confirm, of his Mehemet, own free will, the election of the khan Mehemet, against whom he had imprudently fent an army too weak. Being taught by this misfortune, he

turned his whole attention to pacifying the inter-

The emperor confents to the of the Tartars, and recalls the Ottoman fleet.

nal part of his empire, in order to repulse his na- J.C. 1624. tural enemies with greater effect. After the khan & 1034of the Tartars had fent to do homage at the feet of the emperor, and had received in return a fword and a fur-lining of fable as a fign of investiture, the affairs of Asia were seriously attended to.

It was high time. The grand vizier, instead of marching against Abassa, as had been decided in the divan, went and wasted his army before Bagdad, and left behind him the provinces of the empire in confusion. The prince of the Druses and the bashaws of Erzerum, Aleppo, and Diarbekar, all accomplices in the fame revolt, were at that time earnestly inviting the king of Persia into Asia, in order to pay him homage and place

their governments under his authority. To complete the difaster, what janissaries were left at Constantinople excited new troubles. These factious beings, feeing the reins of government in the hands of a child, daily demanded the customary present on the accession of an emperor. It has already been observed that the misfortunes

of the times had not permitted the making of this donation to the troops when Amurath ascended the throne. This prince, as yet too young to refift a mutinous foldiery, in vain attempted to appeafe their clamours by his presence. The janif- Revolt of faries, emboldened by so many successes, info-the janiflently demanded the blood of the caimacan, whom they could reproach with no other crime than

J.C. 1624, having refused them the money which was not in 1034 the public treasury. They carried their audacity fo far as to profcribe the head of the valid fultanefs. The young fultan thought at first that he could appeale the revolt and preserve his authority by granting them part of their demands. The caimacan was made a mazul; but as Amurath had fent to this unfortunate man, immediately after his deposition, to repair to the feraglio, in order that his life might be in greater fecurity, the caimacan was furprifed by fome janissaries as he was entering difguifed. These furious soldiers fell upon him, tore him to pieces, and even infulted his body after his death. The valid fultanefs, whom this example made tremble for herfelf, caused money to be distributed to the troops. This precaution and the superstitious respect which all the Turks have for the grand feignior's haram, faved the valid's life. The janissaries separated contented; but Amurath, all young as he was, faw with chagrin this terrible foldiery affect in his reign the same independence and usurp the same authority as under his predecessors. He forefaw the consequences, and refolved to prevent them. When the janissaries thought their revolt quite forgotten, Amurath had feveral of the most feditious fecretly arrested one after another, and, on different days, had them beheaded, directing his vengeance more pointedly against the subalterns and private foldiers, than against the principal officers, in order

How punished.

that

that the multitude might no longer think, as they J.C. 1624. had 'till then, that the great men had alone to & 1034fear chastisement. As it was impossible for these troops to remain constantly in a state of defence, Amurath chose his moments to punish. These means contained them during his reign only, which was not long: it is not possible for foldiers that execute daily the orders of a government without written laws, not to perceive that this government has no authority but through their means, and not to be often tempted to make him experience their caprices who makes them execute his.

heanwhile, the Persians had entered his domi- J.C. 1625, nions by four places. The fophi had brought & 1626. an army himself into the Diarbekar, and had con- to 1036. quered all the country beyond Bagdad, which war with the perfidious bashaw had made no difficulty of Perfiafurrendering to the enemy. Another Persian army which entered Palestine was under the command of the emir Facardin, prince of the Druses. The sophi wanted to make this emir a fovereign tributary to Persia. Another corps of Persians had passed the Euphrates, extending themselves towards Trebizond in a country rather rich, where they met but little refistance. In fine, a fourth had entered Arabia, and taken Medina, after having routed some handfuls of asaps that the timarians had brought against them. If we recollect that the bashaws of Erzerum and Aleppo had levied troops to destroy the janisfaries, and avenge, as they faid, the death of Othman, C 2

VOL. III.

we

J.C. 1625, we shall comprehend how much an infant prince, to 1036.

The fultan chooses a finances, and gives his mafter good ad vicc.

Heg. 1034, at the head of a feditious foldiery which he knew onot how to pay, had to fear for his throne. In the middle of all these adversities, Amurath found, the greatest treasure that a sovereign can enjoy, a wife minister and in whom he could put confidence. Chafis Ali, formerly bashaw of Bosnia, who repairs and one of the viziers or bashaws of the bench, the difor-der in the fucceeded the caimacan that the janissaries had put to death. This officer, in the absence of the grand vizier, is the first of the empire, and has the entire management of the government. Chafis Ali was endowed with all the necessary qualifications to re-establish affairs grown desperate. He had no difficulty to perfuade the young prince, first to observe great œconomy in his expences, in order to make up by degrees the immense sums which his predecessors had drawn from the public treasury, and lastly to shew himself often to the people and janissaries, in order to inspire a respect This minister often told his for his person. mafter, that if the profound retreat of the sultans accustomed the people to respect an invisible monarch, it only more disposed the soldiers to mutiny against a master whose face they were as much strangers to as his voice. And indeed Amurath affected to appear often in the Hippodrom and in the other public squares of Constantinople. Instead of walking in the gardens of the haram amidst his women and eunuchs, the sultan was at . the head of the spahis challenging them all to fhoot

shoot the bow or fling the lance, and carrying off J.C. 1625, the prizes that he had himself given. This fort Heg. 1034. of martial familiarity gave him a real ascendency over ferocious foldiers, who could not imagine that a prince who had vanguished them at shooting the bow, or in running, could be undeferving of the throne.

Whilst Amurath was trying his forces in order at a future period to take the command of the army himself, and his caimacan was endeavouring to repair by his fagacity the multiplied faults of the preceding reigns, bad news arrived from The grand vizier, who had conducted the Bad fuccess principal forces of the empire towards Bagdad, in Afia. had loft much time and a number of men before that important place. A hundred thousand men, reduced to less than forty thousand, after a six months siege, had been constrained to abandon this perilous enterprise. The sophi, who had himself hastened to the succour of this place, had forced the Turks rather to take to flight than retreat. The Ottoman troops had likewise been beaten in Palestine, and Abassa had taken several towns in Natolia, without declaring himself a fubject of the fophi's, but always stiling himself the avenger of Othman and the implacable enemy of the janisfaries. All these misfortunes were attributed to the incapacity of the grand vizier, Chusain, whom Chasis Ali advised his master to recall as foon as possible, under pretence of taking his advice, and without letting him have a fufpi-

cion

J.C. 1625, cion of his difgrace; for as this minister was faid Heg. 1034, to have profited immoderately by the public mifgrand viplace.

fortunes, and his private treasure was increased The grand with the substance of the army, it would have recalled & been very wrong not to intice him to Constanti-Chafis Ali nople in order that he might be more in the emgrand vi-zier in his peror's power. In effect, the grand vizier fent on before him to Constantinople a number of camels loaded with every species of riches. They accrued, in great part, from the seizure which he had made of the effects of three bashaws, lately facrificed on fuspicions; for instead of sending to the public treasury these spoils which belonged to the fovereign, the grand vizier thought he might take them himfelf, without any one's daring to bring him to an account. But he had no fooner appeared at the feraglio, than the emperor, to whom he was preparing to give lessons on government, demanded of him the particulars of the siege of Bagdad and the other operations. against the rebels of Asia, as likewise what he had done with the confiscated property of the three condemned bashaws. It was of no use to the grand vizier to offer all his wealth with his hand to one of his master's sisters, the grand seignior finding it more just and useful to confiscate it. The prime minister lost his head for his incapacity, cruelty, and injustice. Chafis Ali, from caimacan become grand vizier, fent to the public treasury the rapines and even patrimony of his faithless predecessor. Being convinced likewise that

that there was no necessity for a sovereign to fight J.C. 1625, in person subjects whom he was not sure of van- Heg. 1034. quishing, he advised his master to treat with this Abassa bashaw of Erzerum, the most dangerous of all the rebels.

The king of Persia had just sent an ambassador The Perto Constantinople, who offered peace, provided fians make Bagdad and all its territory as far as Baffora were peace. The left to his fon. Chafis would by no means agree vizier takes to fuch a difgraceful treaty; he only took advan- advantage of the tage of the negociation to detach Abasia from the moment to interest of the sophi. This rebel was returned to to extin-Erzerum, where he was enjoying the ravages rebellions. which he had made throughout Natolia, and the taxes that he had imposed on the towns in which he had left garrisons. He began to give our, that he had never a thought of subjecting himself to the king of Persia; but that, faithful to the Ottoman house, he had taken up arms only to avenge one of his mafters, whom a feditious foldiery had unjustly put to death. This change made Chafis Ali flatter himfelf that Abaffa would liften to conditions. He discovered that the bashaw of Erzerum had a spy in Constantinople: the grand vizier had this man fought, found him, and convicted him of having a correspondence with the rebel; but instead of having him empaled, as he was pressed to do, and as all the other viziers would have done in the fame fituation, he refolved to make use of this spy, who appeared to him an able, intelligent man, in order to bring back

J.C. 1625, back Abassa to his master's obedience. & 1626. to 1036.

Heg. 1034, hatred of the janissaries against this man who had put to death fuch a number of their comrades, and the mistrust of the bashaw, seemed likely to render this negociation very difficult; but the grand vizier would fain have all the Afiatic dominions pacified, in order the better to drive out the Persians, and he hoped that the submission of Abaffa would prevail on the bashaw of Aleppo, and the prince of the Druses, to return to their obe-He fought all possible means to execute by conferences what it would have been dangerous to terminate with arms. Chafis Ali left Constantinople as if he was going to make war; but he carried with him to Asia rather an escort Hemarches than an army. As he wanted the confent of the baffa rather janisfaries and spahis to the treaty which he meditated, he took with him what remained of thefe corps at Constantinople; and without laying fiege to a fingle town, or putting the faith of the other bashaws and fangiacs to the test, he went and encamped at a little distance from Abassa in

> a plain not far from Erzerum. His army was too weak to undertake the fiege of that place. The janisfaries could not comprehend what the grand vizier meant to do with fo few troops, and they complained already of their being exposed to certain death, as the implacable Abassa had not yet spared a fingle janisfary or spahi that had

fallen into his hands.

against Awith an efcort than an army.

This

This spy of the bashaw of Erzerum, whom the J.C. 1627. grand vizier had furprifed at Constantinople, was & 1037come with him, and it was on this man that the He has an prime minister founded his hope of a necessary with him, reconciliation. Meurab (that was his name) went and agrees on a treaty, to tell his master, from the grand vizier; that it which is confirmed was time to put an end to a war fo fatal to both by the parties, which tended only to destroy all the true feignior. Believers, and to deliver the Ottoman empire to the Aliians; that Amurath esteemed the fidelity of Abassa to the memory of the emperor Othman, whose revenge he had so nobly undertaken; but that all the murderers of that monarch had been punished, and that there was no necessity for his becoming in turn, by a longer war, the perfecutor of the Ottoman race. As the bashaw of Erzerum fhewed fome mistrust, the ingenious negociator told him, that the grand vizier was come rather to put himself in his power than to surprise him; and that they had brought him a troop of spahis and janisfaries, in order that his reconciliation with these two corps might restore peace throughout Afia. The grand vizier fent Abaffa as hoftages the two principal officers that he had in his retinue, his own brother who was beglerbeg of Caramania, and another bashaw of three tails. proceedings which shewed so much good faith, prevailed on Abassa; he listened to all the propositions that were made him. They offered him the government of Bosnia, promising him that he should transport all his riches thither; that of VOL. III. Bofra

J.C. 1627. Bofra for the bashaw of Aleppo, who was become & 1037. his lieutenant; and a general amnesty for Facardin the prince of the Druses. Nothing more was necessary than to gain the consent of the janisfaries, fo much enraged against Abassa on account of the blood that he had spilt. The grand vizier and the principal officers flattered the pride of the fubalterns, by explaining to them the particular reasons that had forced them to this accommodation. He observed that it was impossible to resist numerous armies, and still less to vanquish them with fo few men; that it was better to turn the arms of these rebels against the Persians than to be beaten by them; that the cruelty of Abassa to their comrades had only been a consequence of the error, which a number of Musfulmen had been led into besides him, respecting the real murderers of Othman; and that this bashaw had not put a single person to death but those that he had believed, though wrongly, accomplices in that affaffination.

Meanwhile, the treaty was dispatched to Constantinople to obtain the grand seignior's rati-By the time that it was returned, all animolity was at an end. The bashaw of Erzerum went into the grand vizier's camp, carrying him back his hostages; and, after having kissed the bottom of the prime minister's vest, he dined with him in his tent, as did likewise the principal officers of the two armies. After dinner, the grand vizier went in his turn into the camp of the bashaw, which was pitched without the

Confummation of the treaty between the grand vizier and Abaffa: they return toConstantinople together.

town,

town, and every part resounded with the accla- J.C. 1627. mations of the two armies, who repeated the & 1037. name of Amurath. The spahis and janisfaries went afterward to take the right of that of Abaffa, as first troops of the empire. It was refolved that these two armies, which no longer made but one, should remain under the command of the grand vizier's brother, the beglerbeg of Caramania, and that the prime minister should return with Abassa to Constantinople. two brave chiefs traversed Asia with a considerable retinue, letting the people, who ran out to meet them, see that there was a perfect good understanding between them, which did not a little contribute to pacify the country and make the lawful authority be respected. On their arrival near Constantinople, they crossed the straits of Scutari, and entered the city with great pomp. The grand vizier feemed to enjoy the triumph due to his policy; he conducted him in his train whom he had vanquished, not by arms, but by the strength of his reasons and the address of his conduct. He enjoyed the glory of having preferved an excellent general, who was more redoubtable for the enemies against whom the emperor meant to fend him, because Abassa had never been vanquished. The grand vizier had first an The empeaudience of the fultan by himself, after which the the rebel prince received the homage of the new bashaw of kindly, af-Bosnia, who, after having killed the ground at him into a the foot of the throne, protested aloud that he govern-

J.C. 1627. had never been otherwise than a most faithful & 1037. Subject, and that he had taken up arms for his highness's fervice only; that the blood which he had shed to satisfy the manes of Othman, should convince the emperor that he could never have a more zealous fervant, and that the numerous facrifices made to the Ottoman race announced with what eagerness he would march to the attack of its enemies. The young prince received this rebel kindly. He was pleafed with him for wishing to appear innocent. Abassa was sent into Europe. We shall fee that he was not unserviceable afterward to the prince against whom he had borne arms.

Death of Shah Abbas, king of Perfia. fon Zaid Mirza afcends the throne.

In the mean time news arrived of the death of the fophi Shah Abbas, after having governed of Perna. His grand- thirty years, leaving his crown to a young prince, the fon of that eldest son whom he put to death for a conspiracy. This prince, who had almost always vanquished the Turks, and who had taken feveral provinces from them, had been constrained to make use of great severity to keep all his discontented vasfals and governors in order. He had abandoned several of his factious sons to the fword of justice. One alone remained, blind from his birth, and every way unfit for the cares of a throne. Shah Abbas, at the point of death, fent for Zaid Mirza, the eldest of his grand-fons. The young prince, accustomed to fee his grand-father shed his own blood, received with horror the proposal made him by

Shah

Shah Abbas of fucceeding him. Though this J.C. 1627. prince feemed ready to expire, he took it for & 1037. a fnare, and conjured Shah Abbas to remain on the throne. The old monarch having feveral times repeated to him, that death would foon take him from this world, and that he had chosen him to reign in his place, Zaid Mirza was pro- J.C. 1628. claimed fophi the next day. The Turkish em- & 1038. peror and his vizier hoped that this change of The grand vizier premaster would render Persia less formidable, and pares to that it would be possible to recover the last con-himself quests of Shah Abbas at least. He disfuaded his Persia. master from commanding himself in this war; he was afraid of exposing the emperor of the Turks at the head of an army that might be forced to retreat. Chafis Ali charged himself with the event; but before he fet out for the army, he did justice to the Franks, who complained, by count Cefy, the French ambaffador, of the extortions of a Jew, who executed at Constantinople the office He does of collector or farmer of the taxes laid on the juffice to merchants of the West. The Jews seize, as much who are as they can, throughout Turkey, the advantages by an extortioning reaped by collecting the imposts, which the Turks Jew. contemn as odious; and whilft the Franks expose themselves to the fatigues, dangers, and losses, inseparable from a maritime commerce, their industry is subject to the avidity of Jews, who, either by the management of the customs, or usury, less dangerous and more lucrative than commerce, usurp in great part the industry and labour

J.C. 1628. labour of other nations. The equitable vizier 8.1037, knew, from the complaints made him, that the Jew collector exercifed much greater powers than those which he gave an account of to the This man was hanged as an extortioner. state. The French ambaffador and the merchants of the different nations recommended an Armenian merchant to fucceed him, who kept within the bounds prescribed; but this man, exposed, after the departure of the grand vizier, to the extortions of the caimacan and all the fubaltern officers, who believe in Turkey that they are only taking what belongs to them when they fqueeze the Infidels, was constrained to become a bankrupt to the public treasury. The ambassador and the merchants, fureties for this Armenian, fulfilled the engagements which they had contracted. We shall fee by and by count Cefy obliged to remain at Constantinople, though his embassy was at an end, because the sums for which he had been bound were not paid.

> The grand vizier fet out for Moful, which was the rendezvous of his army. He found a hundred and fixty thousand men there, spahis, timarians, janisfaries, topggis, jebeggis, or asaps. He likewise expected a succour of Georgians. These people, whose affection, like their situation, fays Mezeray, lies between the Persians and Turks, ferved in reality that of the two powers which paid them highest, and most commonly that against which they appeared to fight. Mo

roc, the Georgian emir, being come to bring his J.C. 1628. tribute to the vizier, and point out to him, as he & 1038 faid, the best roads, was received in the Turkish The grand army with great honor. Chafis Ali imparted all rives at the his projects to him; but the vizier foon knew army: he that he had confided in a traitor. Some opera- and putions anticipated by the enemy, and which the treachery of a prince general had intrufted to the emir of Georgia of Georgia. only, intercepted letters, and feveral other things, convinced Chafis Ali that he was betrayed. He diffembled 'till he was able to discover all the accomplices, who were the fons of Moroc, and fe-. veral of the principal Georgians. Then the vizier having had the arms taken from all the troops both Georgians and others, he published aloud the treachery of the emir of Georgia, proved it to the fatisfaction of all the chiefs, named all the accomplices, and condemned them to death, which was instantly executed. Thirty Georgians were beheaded, without their countrymen, who were witnesses of their chastisement, making the fmallest attempt to defend their prince or their principal officers; those that were spared thinking themselves happy to have escaped the proscription.

Whatever fervices the grand vizier could ren- Severity of der his master against Persia, his presence would have been of greater use at Constantinople. Amurath, yet too young to govern by himfelf, was obliged to leave the government in a great measure to a caimacan who did not possess either the ability or good intentions of Chafis Ali.

J.C. 1628. The young prince was accustomed to the order Heg. 1037, which his prime minister had established at Constantinople. He was often irritated at the faults committed under his eyes. He often expressed his displeasure to the viziers or bashaws of the bench, when they had made an ill use of their power; fo much fo, that he struck the captain bashaw, his brother-in-law, because the Cossack corfairs came and infulted the port of Conftantinople with impunity, and took two barks and funk another, under the cannon of the two light-towers. Another time he caused the kislar aga, or chief of the black eunuchs, to be strangled, because he had not been able to give the divan an exact account of the treasure of the mosques, though this officer alleged, by way of justification, that the valid fultaness had disposed of what was missing from the facred treasury. (It is thus they call the treasury of the mosques.) Amurath fancied that an extreme severity would cause his youth to be respected. As soon as Chasis Ali was gone, he made a refolution not to pardon a fingle fault, defiring rather to be feared than He acted directly contrary to the beloved. princes of the West, who cause the rigour of the law to be put in force by magistrates, or other instruments of their power, and reserve to themfelves the flattering right of granting pardons and mitigating the lot of criminals. Amurath often ordered executions, and never pardoned any one. This excessive severity soon displeased the inconftant

stant Ottomans. The emperor had two brothers, J.C. 1628. Bajazet and Ibrahim, brought up in the feraglio & 1038 under the eyes of the valid fultaness, their mother. Bajazet, whom the fultaness loved better than Ibrahim, had often appeared by the fide of Amurath in those forts of tournaments which were executed in presence of the people, and he had shared the marks of admiration which Amurath always merited, when he shewed his strength or address; so much so that the emperor, grown jealous of Bajazet, made their mother fear that this monarch, already too fanguinary, would put to death a rival who was more dangerous, because Bajazet affected lenity and kindness, as much as his brother did feverity. Kiofem (that was the name of the fultaness-mother) was respected by the emperor. She protected her fecond fon a long time against the jealousy of the eldest; but fhe could not fave Bajazet from being confined in one of the apartments of the feraglio. Amurath learned that the ulema affembled frequently; that in these forts of conventicles, Bajazet was lamented, Amurath's feverity was blamed, and the revolutions effected by a discontented foldiery were brought on the carpet. The monarch, as yet too young to be fensible of fear, proscribed the mufti, the chief of the ulema, who had not a little contributed to make him emperor; and, notwithstanding the opinion of all the Musfulmen, who regard the head of their pontiff as facred, he had him strangled in secret, as likewise VOL. III. E feveral

J.C. 1628. feveral effendis his accomplices. This feverity, Heg. 1037, just or not, was without precedent. All the Musfulmen exclaimed that one could not, without a crime, touch the life of the mufti, or of the least of the effendis. The more the people appeared discontented, the more Amurath affected to appear in public. The day the mufti's death was rumoured abroad, the emperor appeared in the Hippodrom, not like his predecessors, with a great retinue and furrounded by a triumphal pomp, but accompanied by a few janissaries, with whom he tried his strength and skill in throwing the lance and javelin. These precautions secured him constantly from the fate of Othman and Mustapha. The Turks, accustomed to respect bodily strength, conceived a high opinion of a prince who could pierce armour, or who, at a great distance could shoot an arrow into a small Another way which Amurath always made use of effectively to prevent revolts, was to forbid assemblies of every kind. Constantinople, during the preceding reigns, was full of smoaking rooms and taverns, where people drank, not wine nor any fermented liquor, but sherbet, a fort of diluted fyrup, and water in which they mixed opium. Amurath forbade, under most grievous every kind punishments, first, the use of opium and snuff, fecondly, every kind of affembly; fo that no the use of barber or artisan, let him be who he would, could receive more than three persons at a time into his shop. He ordered that every body should

He forbids bly, and profcribes nuff.

should retire to his house at a certain hour; and J.C. 1628. that after that time there should be neither fire & 1038 nor candle feen. These new laws, to which the people had great difficulty to fubmit themselves, occasioned rigorous proceedings and innumerable executions, fo much fo, that the emperor had the ftreets patrolled all night by bostangis, placing himself often at their head, who fired unmercifully on all they met. Amurath had fuch an aversion for fauff, that he would not permit one of his fubjects to make use of it; he even abused the valid fultaness, though he was at the same time full of respect for her, because she made use of this powder; and for the same reason withdrew his favors from an affaky who had been very dear to him.

But Amurath was far from having the same diflike for wine. Though the law of Mahomet is fo fevere in this respect, the emperor had no fooner tasted that dangerous liquor, than he could HowAmu. no longer refrain from it; and, in spite of the re- toms himmonstrances of the musti and all the ulema, he drink permitted it to be drunk publicly. , Prince Can- wine. Fatimir relates, from feveral Turkish historians, how the young emperor, who had never before tafted this liquor, habituated himself to it, to fuch a degree, that he would often get dead drunk, which shortened his days.

One day, as Amurath was ranging the ffreets of Constantinople, with a small retinue, as he often did, a man, who fell in his way, instead of stepping aside and prostrating himself on the E 2 earth. VOL. III.

J.C. 1628. earth, like all the Turks, with a promptitude that has more the appearance of fright than respect, stopped before the prince, and began to look at him in a laughing, jeering manner, which Amurath was not accustomed to. It was to no purpose that the chiaus called to this rash fellow to kiss the dust before the most powerful of monarchs; the drunken man (for this was one) began to laugh, and, approaching nearer to Amurath, familiarly asked him to fell him Constantinople. This prince had never feen any one before who did not tremble at his presence, or endeavour to discover in his looks his absolute pleasure. The audacity of this fellow aftonished, and, in some respects, pleased him. The sultan asked him what he would give for the capital of the world. "Thou shalt be satisfied," replied the drunken man: "I will buy thee likewise, if " thou wilt fell thyfelf; and the fon of a flave " shall have a good price." (The Turks, when they are displeased with their sovereign, call him by this name, as the emperors' mothers are always flaves.) Amurath had this fellow conducted to the feraglio. He ordered that he should be let repose 'till the next day in a magnificent apartment, where he slept as foundly as if he had never feen the emperor. When he awoke, Becri (that was his name) was as much frighted at what he learned, as he had been aftonished at first at the pomp which surrounded him. Knowing that he was going to appear before the fultan,

fultan, he provided himself with a goblet of J.C. 1628. wine, those that guarded him having orders to to 1038. refuse him nothing. As soon as he came before Amurath, the prince asked him ironically what he would give for Constantinople and the liberty of the emperor. "This here," replied Becri, prefenting his goblet and affecting as much as he could the gaiety of the last evening; " wine is " better than all the kingdoms in the world, " and only those know its value that are its vo-" taries." Amurath, who had never drunk any, was tempted to tafte it. He found this liquor excellent; and, diverting himself with Becri, foon emptied the goblet. The inebriation which followed appeared to him at first an agreeable state: having at length lost his reason, he fell afleep. As he felt on awaking a violent headach, his mafter in drunkenness prescribed him for remedy the fame quantity of wine as he had taken the day before. These repeated specimens accustomed the young fultan so much to wine, and to him who had let him into the fecret, that he could no longer live without either of them. The emperor gave no other place to Becri, than that of his companion in debauchery, which he had so well merited. This man never left Amurath afterward. He affisted at all his councils. without any other title than the favor and pleafure of the prince; and by the afcendancy which he had acquired over his mafter, he fometimes procured

J.C. 1629, cured the recall of the death warrants which this Heg. 1038, fanguinary monarch had iffued too rashly. to 1040.

Campaigns in Perfia,

Notwithstanding this debasing passion, Amurath no way renounced the defire of repreffing every appearance of rebellion throughout his em-The grand vizier, Chans Ali, more formed pire. to govern men than to command armies, had both un-fortunate., already made two campaigns against the Persians with different success, both in their country and in the provinces loft a short time before by the Turks. The Ottoman army had at first been victorious: the Turks feveral times beat this Perfian cavalry, which prefented itself only by parties to the attacks of an enemy whose whole forces were united. But the fophi, Zaid Mirza, thought it would be best to make use of the same mode of defence against these brave enemies, as his grand-father, Shah Abbas, had. He ordered his country to be laid waste, already very steril, and opposed only burning fands and arid deferts to this victorious army, accustomed to a happy abundance, the ordinary companion of prosperity. The Turks fuffered more from fatigue and hunger than they had before from the fword of the Persians. Chasis Ali retreated; and after having concluded his first campaign more unfortunately than he had begun it, he refolved in the fpring to undertake the fiege of Bagdad, before which the Ottomans had already failed feveral times. This attempt was as unsuccessful as, the former ones, and more bloody. The efforts of the janissaries,

nissaries, and the obstinacy of the grand vizier, J.C. 1629. only increased the carnage. Chasis Ali learned, Heg. 1038, with as much furprise as chagrin, that the foldiers refused to come to reinforce his army, and that, on the rumour of what his troops had fuffered, both in the Persian expedition and during the fiege of Bagdad, the bashaws and sangiacs were unable to enlift any more foldiers. The grand vizier, already advanced in age and weighed down with the fatigues of a toilsome war, was attacked, during the fiege, by a diforder, which he immediately foresaw would be fatal to him. This fage minister employed the little strength left him in giving his mafter good advice. He The grand wrote him, that it was better to effectually con-before Bagquer his own dominions, that is to fay, make his he befieges. fubjects respect him, than to think of vanquish- days he ing enemies fo distant from the centre of his writes his power; that he would be formidable abroad, advise him to a peace. only in proportion to the obedience of his own Subjects; that, for several reigns past, the example of the bashaws so often in rebellion, and of a feditious foldiery accustomed to give law to their masters, had taught all the Musfulmen to shake off the yoke of authority; that, in a word, it was necessary to conclude a peace with the Persians, in order to make preparation for attacking them more gloriously hereafter.

Amurath greatly regretted his grand vizier, Difadvanwho died a few days after writing this letter, and tageous he followed his last advice. The emperor first Perfa.

to 1040.

J.C. 1629, took all the timars from those that had refused to Heg. 1038, carry arms against Persia, without the other services that they had rendered being able to prevail on him to favor any one; after which he released a Persian from the Seven Towers who had been invested with the character of ambassador, and fent him to Persia, with proposals for an accommodation, by which the fophi was left all his conquests. Zaid Mirza took care not to refuse this treaty; and the Ottoman troops, who had loft their chief, retired from the province of Bagdad.

J.C. 1631, & 1632. to 1042. Regeb bavizier.

Regeb bashaw, the emperor's brother-in-law, Heg. 1040, was raised to the dignity of grand vizier. In order to enter into the views of his mafter, he thaw is pointed out to him the emir Facardin as the greatest enemy that he had in his dominions. He told him, that this prince, who feigned to profess Islamism, boasted at the same time of being descended from one of those Christian families, who, during the crufades, had done fo much mischief to the Mussulmen; that, for several generations the Facardins had governed an usurped. state, which paid only a tribute very inferior to that which the territory of the Druses ought to support; and that, whilst they were oppressing the true Believers, it was equally unjust and dangerous to leave in the middle of the grand feignior's dominions, an usurper, the enemy of the monarchy and Islamism, who was only an object of jealoufy and an example of rebellion for all the bashaws and fangiacs. The grand vizier fent to the

the bashaw of Damascus, called Emod, to give J.C. 1631, the Porte the necessary information respecting the Heg. 1040, emir Facardin's conduct. The crimes laid to the charge of this prince were, that he openly tions a. favored the Christians, and that he had himself gainst the emir Fapassed several years in Italy, leaving the reins of cardin. It government to his fon. It was faid that at his to attack return he had refumed the fovereignty of the Druses, in order to build several monasteries for Christian monks, particularly at Sayd, or Sidon, his capital; that he had a great many Christians. in his pay; that, though he went himself once a year to mosque, and wore the turban, an unequivocal mark of Islamism, he was present sometimes, in the greatest secreey, at the Christian worship; that he was continually sowing divisions between the bashaws of Damascus, Tripoli, Syria, Gaza, and all his other neighbours; that he excited them by turns to revolt, in order to destroy these governors by one another; and that his project had been for a long time past to get possession of the Holy-land, through favor of the many diforders which he ftirred up in Afia: Enod was intrusted with the direction of the war which Amurath refolved to carry on against Facardin. Whilst this bashaw was collecting troops from all the neighbouring fangiacates, Amurath fent forty galleys against the prince of the Druses, which went first and anchored in the port of Tripoli.

Meanwhile,

J.C. 1631, & 1632. to 1042. The emir Ali, the fon of Facardin, valiantly defends his coun . try.

Meanwhile, Facardin got information of the Heg. 1040, preparation that the bashaw of Damascus was making against him. He raised in his dominions, which were but of small extent, twenty thousand men, foldiers of the country or auxiliary troops: These warriors, almost all Christians, promised Facardin to die in defence of his fovereignty: we shall see that they were as good as their word. The emir, having put Ali, the eldest of his fons, at their head, whom he had declared his fucceffor on his going to Italy, fent this little army to stop up the narrow passes which defended his estates, and retired himself into the fortress of Baruth, the second place in his dominions, faying, that as to peace or war it was an affair of his fon's, as he was the lawful fovereign of the Druses. The bashaw of Damascus, who had assembled from all Asia, even from Egypt, six times the number of men that prince Ali had, continued a long time before the narrow passes without being able to force them. The campaign was long, toilsome, and 'bloody. Facardin's soldiers neither gave nor asked quarter. Their losses were Emod attacked often with fresh irreparable. troops these foldiers, whose number rather than courage wasted, and who, in an advantageous fituation, could expect no other fuccess than to retard their defeat. The young prince Ali, during eighteen months of a most bloody war, shewed a most daring courage and an understanding greatly above his age. He was feveral times vanquisher;

vanquisher; but his victories too often repeated J.C. 1631; coft him his bravest foldiers, and brought on his Heg. 1040, fall. Emod at length penetrated the territories, and took Saphet, Balbec, and Acre. Prince Ali Nineteen perished in a last battle, in which, of all the fol-thousand diers that had engaged in his cause, only two dred men hundred remained, who were unable to obtain the this de fence, with death which they fought fword in hand. In this their chief. extremity, old Facardin faw that all refistance would be useless. He abandoned Baruth, and concealed himself in some caverns of mount Libanus, from whence he wrote to the emperor, requesting permission to come to Constantinople and plead his own cause. He protested his innocence and fidelity to the Ottoman fultans, of whom his ancestors and himself had always been feudatories. The Ottoman fleet entered the port of Sidon. Baruth, and all the castles belonging to Facardin, opened their gates to the vanquisher. Whilst the unfortunate emir wandered from cavern to cavern, his subjects concealed him with fidelity; they took care to nourish him, notwithstanding the cruel precaution of Emod, who promised a large sum of money to A price is any one who should bring him the head of this fet on the head of the unfortunate prince. Old Facardin was fo be- emir Faloved, that, among so many men accustomed to He conrapine, not one of them would purchase his for- felf in tune at the price of his master's blood.

Meanwhile, Amurath, who knew that Facardin had treasures buried in the ground, and that but . VOL. III. verv

J.C. 1631, very little money had been found in each of the

voked. his treafures for Conftantinople.

Heg. 1040, fortresses taken, sent another bashaw to the Drufes, who revoked the reward offered by that of Damascus, and forbade, on the contrary, any at-This bar- tempt to be made on the emir's life, declarbarous or-der is re- ing his head as facred as the emperor's; but The emir a double reward was offered for discovering fets for-ward with where he was. Facardin, having learned that his life was no longer fought; that Giafar (that was the name of the new bashaw) caused to be published by found of trumpet that Amurath expected the prince of the Druses at Constantinople, where he was defirous that he should repair in perfect liberty, without any violence being done either to him or his people; reappeared immediately. After having gathered together all the gold that he had buried in different places, he fet forward for Constantinople with an escort of four hundred horse well mounted, well armed, and richly clothed, carrying with them the remains of their mafter's fortune, in order to purchase his liberty and life. Fourteen camels were loaded with these riches, which he openly difplayed, because, knowing the desire that the emperor had to increase his treasures, Facardin confidered what he was carrying to Conftantinople as his fafeguard, which four hundred brave fellows were well able to defend against the enterprises of freebooters.

The prince of the Druses traversed the territories of his fovereign paramount, rather as a rich feudatory

feudatory going to pay homage, than like a van- J.C. 1631, quished enemy going to folicit pardon. The Heg. 1040, fplendor of his retinue commanded respect and excited general curiofity.

The news of this march having reached Con- The emstantinople, the emperor would fain fee more of peror goes this prince, of whom he had heard fo many him in things, than he possibly could, considering the He conimmense distance at which the Ottoman emperors Facardin, keep their feudatories. Amurath took with him him him his the retinue, and affumed the drefs, of a bashaw, and advanced into Asia within about two days journey of Scutari. Having met Facardin, the emperor introduced himself as a bashaw of the bench, or one of the viziers that compose the divan. He invited the prince of the Druses to relate to him the history of his fall, promising to intercede with Amurath for him. The old Facardin had been better informed than the emperor wished. Well knowing that he was speaking to the master whom he had so much interest to please, he entered into a most ingenious conversation with this pretended bashaw on his submission to the house of Ottoman; the malice of his enemies, who had punished him for having dared render the Druses happy, whilst the neighbouring people were groaning under the oppression of bashaws and sangiacs; and on the necessity of protecting the commerce of the Franks, and confequently to favor, at least indirectly, the Christian religion. These ideas, which

verses with confidence.

J.C. 1631, which were new to Amurath, made a great imto 1042.

Heg. 1040, pression on him. He listened to Facardin with the greatest attention. On his return to Constantinople he loaded the emir with honors, which at first excited jealousy and soon after general indignation, especially when it became public that Amurath thought of fending back Facardin, and a fon which he had left, to Sidon to govern the Druses, and continue their protection to the Christian religion. The treasures and eloquence of Facardin had fuch influence over the emperor, that there was reason to fear left this absolute prince should change the principles of the government, founded on the religion of Mahomet, so revered by all the Turks. The valid fultaness, the mufti, and the grand vizier, exerted every effort against this new favorite. nifters ac- The mufti, more ardent than the rest, cited the Alcoran, which unmercifully profcribes all that, favor, and after having professed Islamism, dare turn Christians or feign to have embraced that belief; and he convicted the prince of the Druses of having greatly neglected all the rites and ceremonies of Islamism, even of having prayed in a Christian temple. In fine, all the enemies of Facardin, those to whom his credit gave most displeasure, remonstrated fo strongly to Amurath that his right over his subjects had no other foundation than the Musfulman religion, and that the confidence which he gave Facardin tended to un-

dermine that religion, that the fultan abandoned

The mufti and the other micufe Facardin, deftroy his fucceed in getting him strangled.

this prince, whom he had loaded with honors for J.C. 1631, feveral months past, and to whom he appeared to Heg. 1040, have given all his confidence. As the old emir was affilting at the divan, agreeably to the power which he had received from the emperor, he heard with aftonishment a bashaw of the bench read aloud feveral accufations against him, all tending to one end, that of having professed by turns Islamism and Christianity. The emir rose to begin his justification: the mufti, being prefent at this divan, stopped his proceeding, by reading a fetfa which condemned to death all relapfes or hypocrites, professing one religion outwardly, and retaining another in the bottom of their heart. It was to no purpose that the old Facardin denied his being a Christian, or that he pleaded the facred word of the emperor, who had drawn him to Constantinople under promise of life and liberty. The grand feignior did not affift at the divan; though, with great repugnance, he fet the feal of his authority to the mufti's fetfa. The old Facardin was strangled; and his fon, scarcely otherwise than a child, was brought up among the icoglans. The province of the Druses has been fince governed by bashaws.

A very short time after the execution of Fa- Death of cardin, the grand vizier, Regeb, met with the vizier fame fate that he had procured the prince of the Druses, notwithstanding the credit of his wife and the valid fultaness his mother-in-law. Infurrections had been mentioned to have broken

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J.C. 1651, out in Bursa, Magnesia, and even in Transylvania Heg. 1040, in Europe. All these disorders had been stopped to 1042. in the beginning, and their authors punished as

Regeb's enemies, who were foon as known. numerous, because it was well known that the emperor difliked him, accused the grand vizier of having raifed up these rebellions in order to arrogate to himself the merit of quelling them; they pretended even that three victims facrificed to the peace had undertaken the war entirely by the infligation of the prime minister. The grand vizier's death was determined on, without his having a suspicion himself of the least disgrace, As he was paying his respects to his master with the rest of the bashaws, Amurath ordered him, under fome pretext, to go into an adjoining room, where he found a chiau accompanied by fix executioners. The officer having declared to Regeb that he had but a few moments to fay his prayers, he refigned himself to his destiny without refiftance.

Troubles in Tran-Tyivania, by the Poles.

Abassa, the governor of Bosnia who for several years had employed his talents in Asia against his occessioned master, knew how to render them useful in Europe to this mafter who had pardoned him. The first campaign he beat, once near Choczin and another time near Rineczug, the Poles, who had taken advantage of some disorders in Transylvania J.C.1633. to break the treaties. The following year, 25 Heg. 1042, they had numerous forces on foot, Amurath con-

fented to a peace, which he thought necessary.

He renounced every kind of tribute from the J.C. 1633. Coffacks, on condition of the Poles' not giving & 1043. any more fuccour to the Transylvanians; and They are, that the waywodes of Walachia and Moldavia, pacified. who had not yet received the investiture of the Porte, should receive it on the recommendation of the king of Poland. Amurath, only twentyfour years old, had pacified a great empire both at home and abroad, which his predecessors had left him shattered by a number of storms. He had made himself formidable to these haughty janisfaries and spahis accustomed to judge their masters, and who had been fo fatal to some of them. In order to keep up this submission, Amurath was determined to shew himself worthy of command-tions aing foldiers, and prove to his people that the fia. hand of the executioner was not the only way which he knew of shedding blood. He resolved to go himself against the Persians, and recover what heretofore he had been constrained to give up. Pretexts were not wanting to go to war with this nation, which was never mentioned in the divan but as a perfidious, usurping people. The eagerness of the Persians to attack the Ottoman empire, when it was rent by infurrections, fufficiently authorifed Amurath to make them feel the effects of his refentment as foon as he thought his forces recruited. The grand feignior went to Scutari to pass the winter which preceded his first campaign, in order to see the troops with his own eyes, and exercise with the soldiers who VOL. III. were

J.C. 1633. were to be the companions of his future labours. & 1043. A rigid ceconomy and frequent confiscations had filled his treasury. The preparations for the war were made with great cost. The new vizier, Mehemet, had magazines distributed at an immense expence throughout the intended rout of the imperial army, which was to be increased by the junction of feveral corps, as the emperor approached the places that he meant to conquer.

J.C. 1634. Whillt the emperor of the Heg. 1043, were yet at Scutari, a disturbance arose among & 1044. Whilst the emperor of the Turks and his vizier the French inhabitants of Galata and Pera, which the Turks, who had at first occasioned it by the contempt which they shew for the law of nations, appealed in the same manner, by usurping over the ministers of a foreign prince an authority which reason and the laws of mankind reprobate. In order to enter more fully into the particulars of this quarrel, it will be necessary to go back a little.

> After count Cefy had refided at the Porte feventeen years, in quality of ambassador from France, Lewis XIII. thought proper to fend the marquis of Marcheville in his place, who, going to Constantinople in a ship of war, fell in with the captain bashaw, off the isle of Scio, cruising with the Turkish fleet, as he often did fince the Cossacks entered the straits of the Dardanelles. The captain bashaw ordered the French vessel to lower her flag. When the bashaw was told by way of excuse, that she carried the French ambaffador.

bassador, the Turkish admiral sent orders to the J.C. 1634. ambaffador to come on board his ship to pay his & 1044. respects to the admiral of the sea and bring him Infult presents. The marquis of Marcheville, irritated, given the marquis of instantly ordered the captain galley to be faluted Marchewith five guns, which the Turk had demanded; new ambut he ordered them to be loaded with ball, and from particularly charged the gunners to aim at the Means bashaw, whom he distinguished on the deck by takes to rethe richness of his dress. Some Turks and some self. Frenchmen, not fo warm as the captain bashaw and the ambassador, prevented this unequal engagement. The marquis of Marcheville was obliged to go on board the captain bashaw's galley; but he made him no other compliments than that he would demand his head from the emperor Amurath at his first audience, and that he would declare war against the Porte in the name of the king his mafter, if he could not obtain it.

However irritated the admiral of the sea might be, he durst not push this violation of the law of nations any further. But he retained a strong resentment against this presumptuous Frenchman, and resolved to ruin him sooner or later. The insult which the captain bashaw had given was so enormous, that the marquis of Marcheville would have been signally revenged of him, if he had sollowed the advice of count Cesy; but the new ambassador having been presented to the grand vizier at the same time as his predecessor, who you. III.

J.C. 1634. took his leave, the marquis of Marcheville spoke

& 1044. of nothing in his harangue but of the infults that he had received. He expressed himself with so much oftentation, and threatened the refentment of the king his mafter with fo much arrogance, that the haughty vizier filenced the druggerman in the middle of his translation of this difcourse. The marquis of Marcheville, who had refused to listen to the advice of count Cesy, retired full of despair, and greatly enraged against his countryman. The count had made himself responsible, as we have already observed, with count for the debt of a collector of the customs, or rather had become bound for the merchants, the original fureties for this infolvent collector. Contrary to the law of nations, which will not admit of an ambaffador's being arrefted in any case whatsoever, an order was given to retain count Cefy, his family, and all his effects, at Conftantinople, 'till the debts for which he had become furety should be discharged. The marquis of Marcheville, whose duty it was to remove all difficulties as much as in his power, was continually flarting new ones, and protected a fet of rascally merchants, who refused to difcharge a debt contracted by the former ambaffador entirely for their interest. Marcheville not only studied to make his predecessor experience all the mortifications which he could think of, but likewise embroiled himself more and more with the officers of the Porte, who were not accultomed

Cefy.

customed to see Frenchmen either so imperious J.C. 1634. or perverse. One day the French ambassador & 1044 concealed flaves, even renegades, in order to embark them fecretly: the mufti called it facrilege, and the caimacan demanded in vain the fugitives whom he knew to be in the French palace, and whom he durst not feek there. The innocent perished for the guilty: an unfortunate Armenian druggerman was hanged, because he had been by order of the ambaffador to affirm to the caimacan a thing that the kiaia proved to be a falfity. Another time the ambassador charged fword in hand, at the head of feveral of his fervants, a small number of janisfaries, who, as it is well known, carry no arms either in Constantinople or the suburbs, because they had not made room for him foon enough to pass. This imprudence occasioned an order from the emperor to difarm all the Franks, the ambaffador's people, and the ambaffador him elf, who refolved not to go out of his palace again, because they would constrain him to appear without a fword. The privilege of going armed was allowed to none but count Cefy. The captain bashaw, the declared enemy of Marcheville, faw with pleasure this inconsiderate man equally hated by the Musfulmen and his countrymen. He did not despair of being revenged for the injury which the marquis had defigned to do him. An opportunity offered almost as soon as the emperor and the grand vizier had fixed their camp at Scu-

J.C. 1654 tari with intention to march into Persia. The 1044. captain bashaw was made caimacan to command in Constantinople in the absence of the monarch and grand vizier. A few days after this nomination, some vessels arrived at Constantinople from Provence, laden with a great deal of merchandife, all belonging to these merchants for whom count Cefy had become bound and whofe treacherous conduct retained him at Pera. The count, who knew that this merchandise was expected, had had the precaution to obtain an order of council from the court of France, and a decree from the divan, which permitted him to feize every thing that he could find belonging to these knavish debtors. By virtue of these two respectable authorities, count Cesy caused all the vessels arrived from Provence to be-delivered to chiaus, who do the duty of bailiffs at Constantinople. The marquis of Marcheville, who endeavoured to protect these merchants against the count, whom he hated, wanted to obtain a replevy of this feizure, under pretext of the urgent necessity for the merchandise on board these vessels. was nothing but an order from the caimacan which could alter a decree of the divan; and this minister refused to give such order, unless he had the particular consent of count Cesy. A great number of Franks, interested directly or indirectly in the fale of these effects, claimed the protection of the marquis of Marcheville. The latter, attending only to his own hatred, authorised the French

French merchants, with their friends and all that J.C. 1634. took part in this quarrel, to go in a body and ask & 1044 the count's confent, and obtain it at any rate. The late ambaffador was still under the protection of the law of nations. These people having rushed into his house, which was but small, and contained but few fervants, he had hardly time to take shelter with his wife and an infant son in a place of fafety. The caimacan being informed of the tumult, and knowing the cause, sent some capiggis to quell the riot and put as many Franks in irons as they could lay hands on; after which, having given count Cefy a guard, he fent a chiau to Scutari to give the emperor an exact account of what had happened. On the return of this officer, the caimacan fent for the marquis of How and Marcheville, who began to be uneasy for the iffue account he is driven of this affair. He fignified to him that it was the from Conemperor's pleasure that he should leave Constan-nople. tinople immediately, without giving him time even to take with him what was necessary. A faick, into which the ambaffador was put, conducted him on board a large French veffel that weighed anchor the same instant, and which two Turkish galleys were ordered to tow out of the port. The caimacan then fent for all the European ambaffadors and count Cefy. He declared to them, that the violent and unruly conduct of the marquis of Marcheville had forced his highness to turn him out of his dominions, and that the emperor defired count Cefy to refume his embaffy,

J.C. 1634. 'till it should please the king his master to name Heg. 1043, & 1044.

another minister. The count replied, that a monarch, who caused himself to be represented by an ambaffador, had alone the right to name that ambaffador, and that he could not, without new orders, exercise a power which had ceased by the arrival of his fuccessor; he proposed even to admit another Frenchman to this honor, whom Lewis XIII. had fent invested with a character to terminate the fecurity affair. The caimacan CountCefy again read over the catcherif of his mafter aloud, and constrained count Cefy to conform himself thereto, ordering him to repair with his family to the French palace. All the Franks had reason to be fatisfied with this administration which they had already experienced. The count recommenced his ministry by obtaining the enlargement of those that had come and insulted him in his house.

is obliged to refume his embaffy.

The grand feignior, who remained still at J.C. 1634. Heg. 1043, Scutari, was taken up with European affairs, & 1044. The empe whilst preparation was making for his departure troops into for Persia. Betlem, pretending a right to Tran-Tranfylvania, to ful- fylvania, on account of his being of the fame tain Bet lem against name with the last waywode, had a formidable the new waywode of rival in the person of Ragotzki, a Hungarian Ragotzki. gentleman, very powerful, elected by a numerous party, and to whose election Stephen Betlem had himself consented. All the Transylvanians had taken arms in favor of Ragotzki. Stephen Betlem, who had repented of having confented to the

the election of this prince, implored the affif- J.C. 1634. tance of the fovereign paramount of Tranfyl- & 1044vania. He was admitted to an audience of the emperor Amurath, where he pleaded his cause with great ability, affuring the monarch that it was the fidelity of the Betlems to the house of Ottoman which had caused all the misfortunes of his family in Transylvania; that the Transylvanians punished him because his ancestors had always been protected by the Turks, and ever in subjection to their high fovereigns. Amurath, actuated by a principle of equity, perhaps too with intention to keep up a constant war among his Christian neighbours, ordered the bashaw of Buda to march against Ragotzki with the troops which he left in Europe.

At length the emperor began his march for J.C. 1635. Persia in the beginning of the spring. During & 1045. all this campaign, Amurath affected to shew him- Amurath departs for felf continually to the whole army, and to share, Persia. in some respects, the fatigues of the foldier, without its leffening in the leaft the fort of worship which the Ottomans pay their emperor. He would often march on foot at the head of fome corps of janisfaries, or on horseback with some fquadrons of fpahis, without laying afide the pomp which always furrounds the fultans. He affected a martial appearance, always wore rich armour; and never missed an occasion of shewing his skill. Though so much given to wine, he would fain appear fober in presence of the fol-VOL. III. H diers,

Heg. 1044

He represses the diforders.

J.C. 1635 diers, who ought to be fo; and it was remarked, to 1045. that whilft he was with the army, he never shewed himself intoxicated before his troops. His military occupations did not prevent his carefully examining the country which he passed through, and paying attention to the complaints which were made him against feveral bashaws and fangiacs. He had a bashaw of Erzerum strangled for extortions. Amurath, traverling the two Armenias, was vexed to fee thefe provinces fo depopulated. Armenia major had been ruined by the fophi Shah Abbas; who, according to his custom, had burnt all the villages and towns of this great province. Lower Armenia had not recovered the emigrations ordered forty years before, on account of the frequent rebellions of the inhabitants. Amurath, who wished to re-people this country, had at first meditated to recall all the families that had left it; but as that project was difficult to execute, and being better advised, he formed a number of timars in these two provinces, which he gave to the poorest of the soldiers, who undertook to cultivate them. The Persian cavalry had at first appeared in the environs of Revan, which Amurath threatened to besiege; but Zaid Mirza knew how to fight like Shah Abbas, that is to fay, he would not oppose a fine cavalry to fire and fatigue against an army five or fix times more numerous. The fophi of Persia provided Revan and Bagdad with two garrisons well chosen: fifteen thousand men of the

beit

He diftributes timars in Armenia.

He lays fiege to Revan.

best troops were left in each of these towns; and J.C. 1635. having laid waste more than three hundred miles & 1045. of country, according to the invariable custom of the Persians, he brought back his army into fine pastures behind Casbin, opposing to his enemy deferts, arid fands, an inevitable fcarcity, and fatigues which the fpahis and timarians had not been accustomed to for a long time past.

Amurath laid fiege to Revan, as he had pro- Revan is mised. This strong place might have held out a furrendered to him by a long time, if it had been well defended; but a Perfian, governor, called Gumir, who commanded there, comes his favorite. furrendered it to the Turkish emperor at the end of three weeks, without being constrained to it either by fcarcity, or the state of the breaches, or any plaufible reason. This cowardice, or rather perfidy, was recompensed by a close intimacy between the emperor and Gumir, fo much fo, that this Persian and the drunkard Becri became the courtiers most familiar with Amurath: he loaded them with favors the rest of his life, not being able to live without their fociety, and getting drunk with them whenever the avocations of a military life would allow it. The news of the taking of Revan occasioned festivals and great rejoicings at Constantinople.

Amurath fullied this first success by a murder Amurath which was more atrocious, because a base jealousy brother was the sole cause of it.* Bajazet, the eldest of Bajazet put his two brothers, and who gave umbrage to the VOL. III. H 2 emperor,

* Racine has made the death of this prince the subject of a Tragedy.

& 1045.

J.C. 1635. emperor, had been preserved 'till then from the fatal bowstring by the affection of the valid fultaness, and by the influence which the presence and tears of a mother gave her over Amurath; but when he was at a distance from her, his hatred, which never decreased, no longer feared any obstacles. The same messenger that brought the news of the taking of Revan, carried the caimacan and valid an order for putting Bajazet to death. This decree was more odious, because, after that prince, there was but one left of the Ottoman blood; for Amurath had loft all his fons. younger brother, Ibrahim, whom he permitted to live because he had nothing to fear from him, appeared very unworthy of reigning. The valid fultaness, who had it not in her power to reproach. the emperor, could still less stop the hands of the executioners. It is faid that the young Bajazet, endowed with extraordinary strength, killed the four first that attempted to strangle him: at length he was overcome by numbers; and these news, fpread in Constantinople in the middle of the fire works for the taking of Revan, and the exag-He returns gerated success of Amurath against the Persians, fo much abated the public joy, that the emperor, at his return, did not receive the acclamations which he expected. He came back with his vizier, after having taken some castles; and left the army under the command of Jambolat, one of the bashaws of the bench.

toConstantinople.

On his return to Constantinople he learned that J.C. 1635. his European army had been unfortunate. The & 1045. bashaw of Buda had fought the enemy three He learns times, and as often had the foldiers of Ragotzki, that his troops attached to a perfecuted prince, and firm in the have been by cause of him whom they regarded as the work of Ragotzki. their hands, beaten these troops collected in haste, badly armed and displined, and who were unconcerned about the success of a war which they made against their will. The bashaw of Buda had retired to Lippa, leaving Ragotzki master of the field. The haughty fultan was fo hurt at this ill fuccefs, that it was thought he would abandon Persia to carry all his forces into Transvlvania; but, on better reflection, he would not renounce his success begun in Asia, still less the conquests which he confidered as certain, to give Transylvania one waywode in preference to another. Ragotzki, tho' vanquisher, offered presents and a considerable Hereceives tribute, and confented to hold his principality of and acthe Ottoman empire, as all his predecessors had him for waywode. done, which Amurath accepted. The only condition stipulated in the treaty in favor of the house of Betlem, was the restitution of some lands which had formerly composed his inheritance. private gentleman of Transylvania, possessing nothing but courage and the love of his countrymen, who had raifed him to be their mafter, had the glory to vanquish the Turks, to drive them from his country, and to conclude a peace with them, nearly fuch as he pleased to dictate.

Amurath

I.C. 1636. Heg. 1045, & 1046.

The khan of the Tartars has the bashaw and cadi of Caffa Arangled.

Amurath was defirous of displaying to his people the fplendor of festivals and rejoicings on account of his success in Persia, in order to dissemble the difgrace of the Transylvanian treaty; but amidst these rejoicings, which only heightened the discontent of the people on account of Bajazet's death, the emperor received difagreeable news from all quarters. The khan of the Tartars of Crimea, who had been ordered by the Porte to arm against Persia, had made no preparation to obey. The bashaw of Cassa and the cadi of the same town, exasperated at the little attention which this tributary prince paid to the commands of their master, wrote to the khan fome haughty, menacing letters, without confidering that they had no troops to fustain the tone which they prefumed to make use of to a powerful fovereign. The Tartar had no difficulty to take Caffa; and, protesting constantly his fidelity to the Porte, he had the two Turkish officers ftrangled, to punish a conduct which he said the emperor Amurath would undoubtedly disclaim. The news of this outrage were scarcely arrived at Constantinople, when they learned likewise that Afoph, a strong commercial town, fituated on the Don not far from the Black-sea, the key of all facks take the Persian commerce, and one of the best seaports in the Levant, had been furprifed by a band of Coffacks driven out of Poland, who had pillaged it and were attempting to maintain themfelves there. The Poles and Muscovites favored

The Cof-Afoph.

this usurpation, because Asoph became a barrier J.C. 1636. between the Turks and them. Whilft Amurath & 1046. was deliberating where he should send troops first, an express arrived from the army in Persia. These dispatches informed him, that in the middle of the frost of a rigorous winter, the sophi had marched to Revan and retaken it; that the army had not been to the fuccour of that place, because several sangiacs, timarians, spahis, and janisfaries, had mutinied under different pretexts, and raised up a rebellion; that Jambolat, trem-Revolt of the Turkbling for his life, had made use of lenient mea- ith army fures, and that he durft not order any motion for fear of risking his authority. To add to the difgrace, the emperor was at that time attacked with a most severe fit of the gout, the fruit of his intemperance. He determined to dissemble the infult which he had received from the khan of the Tartars, by highly approving the punishment of the bashaw and cadi of Cassa. He postponed to a more fortunate period the efforts which he hoped to make to recover Afoph; and, feeing the necessity of continuing the Persian war, before any other enterprise, he sent a new bashaw and cadi to Caffa, with orders to respect the khan of the Tartars, more as the ally than the tributary of the Porte.

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The grand vizier prepared to conduct all the J.c. 163-. troops to Persia that it was possible to raise. & 1047. The plague, which this year ravaged Constantinople and all Natolia, was a considerable ob-

stacle

Heg. 1046, & 1047.

Mehemet goes and takes the command there. He hath Jambolat strangled.

J.C. 1637, stacle to the efforts of Amurath. His impatience and the pains of the gout equally tormented him. He learned every day, with the greatest chagrin, that the foldiers which he collected against the fophi were carried off by the plague before he could fend them to the army. The vizier, Mehemet, having at length departed with about fixty thousand men, joined the army at Erzerum, and found the troops to which he had brought fuccours in the greatest disorder. The avidity and incapacity of Jambolat had caused all the confusion. The defterdar of his army furnished the grand vizier with the proof of several depredations which had drained the military treasury. Mehemet ordered the general that he was come to fucceed, to be strangled immediately. troops that came with him brought the plague from Natolia. The grand vizier, convinced that marches and military operations would only aggravate the evil and deftroy more foldiers than fire and fword, refolved, notwithstanding the orders from the Porte, to remain in the plains of Erzerum, endeavouring to strike at the root of His endea. the disorder by seasonable remedies, purifying the air with aromatics, and strengthening his convathe plague. lescents with wholesome food and necessary repose. His friends informed him from Constantinople that Amurath's impatience increased every day; that he loudly blamed his conduct, which he faid was too circumfpect, without paying any attention to the reasons which the minister repeated to him

vours to diffipate

in all his dispatches for not marching his army J.C. 1637. against the enemy. At length, the sultan having & 1047. learned that the Persians had laid siege to Van, a confiderable fortress on the confines of Diarbekar; that the grand vizier fent no fuccours thither, as he faid that Van was well provisioned, the garrison numerous, and the place inaccessible, Amurath, whom the torments of the gout foured, and who was not accustomed to meet with resistance, fent an express to the aga of the janissaries, who acted as lieutenant to the grand vizier. The dif- The grand patches to this aga contained a public order to feignior, at all the regiments, by which the grand vizier was rent inacdeposed, and the aga of the janisfaries appointed orders to to command in his place. There was a fecond frangled. order addressed to this officer to have Mehemet strangled, as the latter had done by his predeceffor. The grand vizier, warned of the impending danger, by private letters from Constantinople, had all the avenues on the European fide guarded with the greatest attention, in order that no express might arrive without his knowledge, They brought him a bostangi fent by Amurath to the aga of the janissaries. The minister having feized on the packets which this man had brought, found in them all that we have been just relating. He did not possess fusficient refignation to bless, as several of his predecessors had done, the hour How Meappointed for his death by his fovereign. Mehe-hemet premet suppressed this sanguinary order; he assem- execution. bled in a spacious place all the officers of the VOL. III. **fpahis**

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.C. 1637. spahis and janissaries, as low as the odas pachis and musalins; and, addressing himself to the aga whom the prince had intended to succeed him, asked if it had been possible to conduct the troops otherwise than he had done, seeing the difficulty of the marches and the plague which had afflicted the army. The aga having replied that his fagacity had foreseen every thing, and that his attention had faved more foldiers than could have been expected; that it had been impossible to attempt any military expedition, and that the grand feignior must necessarily approve fuch a fage conduct: the whole affembly repeated what the aga of the janisfaries had just said. " My friends," fays Mehemet, " if you will give " me this testimony in writing, I will fend it to our fublime emperor; for the enemies that we " all have at Constantinople are more dangerous " than the Persians." This testimony was immediately drawn up, and figned by all the affembly. Mehemet loaded the bostangi with presents in order to engage him to carry this certificate, and he continued to command the army, without faying a fyllable of the two orders, of which nothing had transpired.

Meanwhile the fiege of Van was raifed, and the anguish which tormented Amurath was assuaged. the bostangi, having brought back to Constantinople, instead of Mehemet's head, the avow of the army, and letters from that vizier, was strangled himself for having so badly executed his commission.

Mehemet had taken care not to J.C. 1637. commission. neglect to solicit the protection of drunken Becri & 1047. and Gumir the Persian, with whose influence over the mind of the emperor he was well acquainted. These two favorites served him with zeal, though there was already a grand vizier nominated, which was the caimacan Bairaim. The prince feemed He is reto yield to the voice of the army. He wrote called, de-Mehemet a letter, in which he called him father, condemned to pay a a title that the fultans generally give the viziers fine. when the latter are older than the former. He approved his conduct, but re-demanded the feals of him, defiring, as he faid, to ease him of a burden too heavy for his age; he invited him to repair to Constantinople, promising him all the confideration due to his long fervices. Mehemet, on the faith of his mafter's letter, left the army to return to the divan; but neither the apology of his conduct, nor Gumir, nor Becri, could fave him from a confiderable fine, to which the fultan thought he ought to condemn the man that was accused of having been inactive against the Perfians. Amurath, throughout his whole reign, found means to fill the public treasury with confiscated property, thus turning to the good of the flate the faults committed against the public welfare. The bashaw of Buda, who had been so unfortunate against the waywode Ragotzki, was put to death; and his property, as likewise that of feveral fangiacs accused of extortions, served to carry on the Persian war.

I.C. 1633. Heg. 1047, & 1048. feignior takes the command in Perfia himfelf.

The fultan, whose health was re-established, and who longed to recover Bagdad, refolved The grand to take the command of the troops himself. He increased the number of the janisfaries of his army with fix thousand men, and summoned all the timarians. The feverity which he had shewn at the commencement of his reign, in dispossessing all that did not conftantly ferve in the army, and the care that he had taken to form a great number of these military benifices, drew to Scutari, the place of general rendezvous, a numerous and The fangiacs brought combrilliant cavalry. panies of asaps, who began to make use of firearms, though 'till then muskets had been the peculiar arms of the janisfaries. It is said that the army affembled at Scutari amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand men, which was increased to double that number by the junction of different troops before it arrived at Bagdad. Amurath, affecting always to be very popular with his foldiers, marched on foot at the head of the janisfaries, dressed like them, distinguished only by the egrets of his turban, and the magnificence of his arms. As he approached Iconia or Cogni, an express arrived from Constantinople, to inform him, that one of the affakys had brought him a fon. This prince had been unable to preferve a fingle male of the many that had been born to him. The existence of his brother Ibrahim, who could give no uneafiness to Amurath, excited the murmurs of the good Musfulmen,

He receives on the march the false news of the birth of a fon.

fulmen, when they reflected that the jealousy of J.C. 1638. their master had proscribed such a worthy pillar & 104 of the throne, to preserve only an ideot of all the Ottoman race. The news of the birth of an heir gave univerfal pleafure throughout the camp; but it was of short duration. Two days after the This error arrival of the first messenger, a black eunuch of is rectified by a sethe feraglio came with a letter from the valid which infultaness, which said that a princess, not a prince, forms him that the was come into the world. The furprise and rage infant is a of Amurath could be compared only to the plea-daughter. fure which he had shewn when they announced to Amurath him a fon. He had the cruelty to have the mef- has the first fenger put to death who had brought him the who had led him infalse news, whom he had at first magnificently to an error, recompensed, as if this man had been culpable for not having been well informed.

They learned that some timarians, who had or- A fanton ders to join the army at Cogni, had refused to forms a feet: what comply, as a fanton, who preached in the moun-means are tains of Natolia, forbade in the name of God, destroy it. whose prophet he said he was, to take up arms against the Persians. This fanatic pretended to be the mehedi, or mediator predicted in the Alcoran, who is to appear before the Antichrift, to recall all mankind to the fame belief, and to make them live in peace under one fole prophet as under one fole God. He would have the children of Ali spared, whom he undertook to reunite to the true Believers, by the gift of perfuation and miracles: and he called himself

.C. 1638. the Angel of peace fent on earth, the image and instrument of the Almighty, who was come to teach mankind to be happy. As they gathered provisions from all quarters on the right and left of the army, the peafants, who were profelytes of the fanton, stopped the convoys, refusing to nourish the murderers of their brethren. enthusiasm became contagious; several of Amurath's foldiers quitted the army to join these neo. phytes. The emperor was fensible of the impropriety of contemning an enemy who was the more dangerous because he taught to bear persecutions and to bless sufferings, and that, under this impoling aspect, he wanted to divert his subjects from the obedience due to their fovereign. fent four thousand men to pursue this enthusiast and his disciples, in holes of rocks, and in caverns, where they had retired. All difarmed and pacific as these new sectaries pretended to be, they defended courageously their lives. The four thousand men sent to reduce them, perished by piece-meal in the different posts which they at-Amurath, enraged at this relistance, fent troops more numerous and martial. The fanton, reduced almost to the last extremity, reflected that all the blood which he spilt, turned against his principles, which tended to the abolition of all war. He fancied that if he went himself to Amurath, the prince would be touched with his fubmiffion, and perhaps too with the persuasion of his tongue. The false prophet

prophet really went to the feet of Amurath's J.C. 1638. throne, accompanied by feveral of his disciples. & 104 They all wore ropes round their necks, which announced that they placed their lives in the emperor's hands. Neither this tardy submission, nor the speeches of the fanton, could disarm the angry monarch. After having heard, rather patiently, a long harangue, which tended to perfuade him to difarm, and to make no more conquests but by the conviction which the Alcoran should have on every mind, as the fanton faid that his and all his disciples' lives were in the emperor's hands, and that they did not attempt to defend them, Amurath took advantage of this last declaration, and caused all the ropes which these wretches wore round their necks, to be drawn tight 'till they were dead.

The Ottoman army continued its march. The March of emperor, on his arrival at Aleppo, was met by the bashaw of Grand Cairo with twenty-four thousand men, well armed and disciplined, who brought him a confiderable tribute. The Diarbekar forces joined him likewise at this place. The fangiacs brought him timarians and troops at different places on the march, which they had themselves kept in pay. Thus, Amurath's army increased as he got further from Constantinople. The king of Persia had not been able to raise more than a hundred and twenty thousand men. He fent a reinforcement of thirty thousand to Bagdad, hoping that that place, fo well fortified and

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.c. 1638 and defended, would be able to stand a siege. Heg. 1047, The fophi marched, with the rest of his troops, against the great mogul, who had promised Amurath to make a powerful diversion. Thus, there was no battle this campaign, the fophi having forces in the towns only that he was anxious to preferve. Amurath passed the Euphrates, without meeting any refistance; he received on the other fide of the river the homage of feveral Arabian, Georgian, and Mingrelian princes, who, as we have already observed, are tributaries to the Turks or Persians, according to circumstances, carrying their gold and their children flaves to whichfoever threatens them most; and alway ready to betray him that they ferve, if fortune declare ever so little against him. Amurath took their tribute; but having but little dependence on the troops that they offered him, he would not mix fuch miscreants with foldiers in whom he could confide. And indeed military discipline had never been carried to a higher pitch. The smallest faults were so severely punished, that they became very rare. There was more order and fafety in an enemy's country, and in the vicinity of a camp composed of more than three hundred thousand men, than had ever been feen in Constantinople in the midst of a profound peace. The extreme severity of Amu-Amurath. rath, and the dread of punishment, were perhaps necessary to keep in order this heap of slaves from divers countries, accustomed to rapine. But the executions

Great fe. verity of

executions related by the Turkish historians strike J.C. 1638. one with horror. For the smallest theft, even for & 1048 having quitted the ranks, a foldier was flayed alive, and lived feveral days in the greatest agonies. Some were burnt with a flow fire, others empaled; fo that the vitals not being touched, these wretches did not expire sometimes 'till the third day. The grand vizier, Bairaim, died of a dysentery at Mosul camp, the last rendezvous of the army. The aga of the janissaries, called Macmout, fucceeded him in the feals and the command of the troops: this was the same person that the emperor had already substituted for the vizier Mehemet, and who commanded the troops that were left in Greece. Amurath, on the point of belieging fuch a place as Bagdad, thought he might put more confidence in an old experienced soldier, than in all the bashaws of the bench.

Bagdad, as we have already faid, is a very ftrong J.C. 1638. town, built on the Tigris, about forty miles from the ancient Babylon, in a very fertile plain. It siege of was then more confiderable than at prefent, Bagdad. though this is still one of the principal factories of The Turkish historians say, that the Levant. when Amurath began the siege, there were eighty thousand men in the garrison; but it is likely that they count all that were in a fituation to carry arms. Be that as it may, the new grand vizier, Macmout, advanced, at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, to invest Bagdad. As the march of the army had been long and fa-VOL. III. tiguing,

Heg. 1048.

J.C. 1638. tiguing, it was not before the ninth of October that Macmout took possession of the narrow passes, and the emperor did not arrive 'till the fifth of the following month, with all his forces, in fight of the town. He began the fiege by acts of religion, ordering public prayers, and making the facrifice called korban, of two hundred sheep, which were distributed to the poorest of the army. The same day the emperor himself, dressed like a janisfary, gave the example to the workmen to open the trenches; he fet the match to the first cannon that was fired. The attack was made on three sides with equal spirit, the emperor and the grand vizier repairing to the places of greatest danger, and bringing back to the works or the attacks the troops repulsed. The grand vizier perished in one of these affaults.* Turks, more brave than industrious, attacked with more valour than good conduct; they employed the arms of the janissaries better than the art of the engineer. The besieged, who every instant faw their fortifications give way to a numerous artillery, defended themselves with every possible exertion. They had no hope of being fuccoured, as there was no Persian army in the province. Whilst they were very numerous, this

[&]quot; Prince Cantimir, and several others, relate that this minister died by the hand of Amurath, who thus punished him for his slowness; but this account, without probability, is contradicted by the Turkish writers, by the manuscripts of the time, and by fir Paul Ricaut, a faithful historian, who got his information on the fpot in a time not very distant from that which we are speaking of.

this idea augmented their courage, and rendered J.C. 1638. them more formidable to the Turks; but when they had loft more than three parts of their garrison, by fallies, affaults, and all the bloody operations of a long fiege, and the walls of Bagdad were laid open on all fides, the prospect of inevitable destruction constrained them to demand a capitulation.

Amurath, who, during the whole fiege, had Bagdad is shewn the valour of a soldier and the coolness taken. of an experienced general, tarnished his glory by Amurath. a horrid perfidy. He promised the remains of the garrison their lives, and the citizens their liberty and the prefervation of their property; but when he was mafter of Bagdad by means of this capitulation, he pretended that, as he meant to return to Constantinople, he could not drag fo many flaves after him, and that it would not be prudent to leave enemies, even difarmed, in a country that he had just conquered. He had all these prisoners slaughtered in the night. The carnage and excess were carried further than the emperor had ordered: debauchery and the allurement of pillage rendered the foldiers still more cruel than their mafter; and the day which fucceeded this horrid night discovered in the flreets nothing but dead bodies and streams of blood. The emperor having laid afide the drefs of a janisfary, which he had made a vow to wear during the whole fiege, made a triumphal entry into Bagdad, with all the magnificence which the VOL. III. K 2 circum-

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J.C. 1638. circumstances would admit. The horses trod under their feet the limbs still palpitating of these unfortunate Persians, whom it would have been more honorable to have preferved to grace this triumph. The shouts of gladness, and the expressions of a barbarous joy, stifled the cries of what remained of women, children, and old men, in this deplorable town. After the fiege of Bagdad, which was taken the 12th of December, the fultan reviewed his army, and found that near a third had perished, either by fickness, or the resistance of the Persians.

Amurath vizier, and makes his favorite captain bashaw.

Amurath gave the charge of grand vizier to appoints a Mustapha the captain bashaw, whose valour and conduct had repaired the loss of the grand vizier Macmout. The dignity of captain bashaw was conferred on Gumir the Persian, the same who furrendered Revan. We have feen that this base action, a determined inclination for drunkenness, and a natural ascendancy over the emperor, had made this foreigner fuch a favorite, that Amurath could no longer make himself happy without him; but thus far, neither he, nor Becri, had been appointed to any place. All the Ottomans faw with chagrin a Persian, without any other merit than that of having plunged their master into the most shameful debauchery, honored with an employ that might be confidered, with some reason, as the fecond in the empire; but the feverity of the fultan had rendered him more absolute than any of his predecessors. The janisfaries, who

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had so often demanded of the preceding emperors J.C. 1638. an account of their government, respected the caprices of Amurath. He left the army under He leaves the command of the new grand vizier, and, dur-the army. ing the winter, visited several places in the Diarbekar.

The affairs of Europe demanded likewise the emperor's attention. During the campaign of Bagdad a quarrel had arisen between the Porte and the republic of Venice. About the fpring of the year 1638, several corfairs of Algiers, Tunis, and Biserta, had united themselves under the command of a famous Algerine pirate, called Picenin. Their defign was to pillage the chapel of Our Lady at Loretto; but contrary winds having prevented them from penetrating fo far into the gulf, they made feveral descents on the coast of Pouilla, ravaging all the country of Nicotera, and not re-embarking without being loaded with booty, dragging after them a number of flaves of both fexes, among whom were feveral nuns. The galleys of the Order of Malta and those of Tufcany were then cruifing in the Archipelago. The galleys of Venice alone, to the number of Outrage eighteen, commanded by Martin Capello, pur-committed by a Venefued the corfairs, and arrived with them off Va-tian fleet on an Otlona, a maritime place belonging to the Turks. toman port. Ali Picenin, who was not the strongest, thought to shelter himself in the port of Valona. The Venetians faluted the castle, and demanded that, conformably to treaty, the pirates, enemies of the republic,

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J.C. 1638. republic, should be driven out of the port. The fangiac of Valona replied by firing a shot, which announced the protection that he meant to give the pirates; on which the Venetian admiral took his measures to block up the port and continued at anchor. A few days after, Ali Picenin attempted to escape by favor of his oars and a favorable wind before break of day; but the vigilant Venetians discovered his design, and fell furiously on the corfairs. The action lasted two hours, during which the Algerines were constantly seconded by the cannon of the port. Five Barbarian galleys being difabled, Ali Picenin reentered the port of Valona with confiderable loss. On the Venetian admiral's return to his station, he dispatched a shallop to inform the senate of what had paffed. In their answer, after giving him the praise he merited, they forbade him to attempt any thing whilft the pirates should be in the port, for fear of infringing the treaties between the republic and the Ottoman empire; but they exherted him to wait for the Algerines at fea in order to complete their destruction. For a whole month Capello continued at anchor, the Algerines always flattering themselves that a storm would force the Venetian fleet to feek a place of shelter. At length the admiral, impatient and determined not to lose his prey, entered the port when he was least expected, making a terrible fire on the galleys of the corfairs, which he found with less than a quarter of their crews of flaves

on board. They were all towed out of the port J.C. 1638. Heg. 1048. and conducted to Corfu, without having made much refistance, and without the Turks' being able to give them any other affiftance than firing fome shot from the castle, which did but little mifchief to the Venetian fleet. Amurath learned thefe news at Antioch, as he was marching towards Bagdad. In the first transport of his rage, he dispatched a messenger to order the caimacan of Constantinople to have the Venetian ambassador, and all the Venetian merchants that could be found, either at Galata, Pera, or Constantinople, without distinction of fex or age, thrown into the fea. Gumir and Becri had the courage and humanity to stop this order, perfuaded that the prince, when the violence of his rage should be past, would be forry that he had given it. Some days after, when they were at table with the fultan, they represented to him, that the conduct of the Venetian admiral, discountenanced by the republic, as the caimacan wrote him, ought not to draw this chastifement on countrymen who were not his accomplices; that it was necessary at least to be certain of the conduct which the fenate of Venice would observe; and that it was but a bad way to obtain justice to rouse all Christendom, perhaps even all the Ottomans, by fuch a bloody and unmerited execution. Amurath heard his confidents with more attention than they expected; he learned without displeasure that the order which profcribed fo many lives

J.C. 1638. was not sent. All his severity was confined to commanding the caimacan to have the Venetian ambassador arrested, and strictly guarded, 'till his masters should have restored every thing that they had taken from the Algerines, and made fatisfaction to the Porte for the infult it had The Vene-received. The caimacan immediately executed this order with the utmost rigour; for he imprison; he prisoned the senator Contarini, the ambassador

tian ambaffador is put in gets out by fentations

the repre- from Venice, though that minister was at that of the other time afflicted with a most excruciating fit of the minifers. gout. The fecond day after, all the ministers of Christendom, led on by the French ambassador, went to the caimacan, and even to the valid fultanefs. This princefs, notwithstanding the laws of the haram, fpoke fometimes to men on state The ambaffadors comaffairs behind a veil. plained loudly against this cruel treatment, which ought to rouse all Europe. The Venetian ambaffador scattered a good deal of money in fecret; for nothing is to be done at the Porte without that fuccour: he was conducted back to his palace under the guard of four chiaus, who answered for his person, and who neither quitted him day nor night.

The republic did not think they were sufficiently strong to go to war with the Ottoman empire by themselves; and but very feeble succours were to be expected from the rest of Christendom. In this extremity the senate wrote Amurath the most fubmissive letters, protesting their fidelity in the execution

execution of the treaties, and stiling the Algerines, J.C. 1638. pirates, not included in the agreements between the Porte and the republic. The Turkish ministers perfisted in demanding all the booty that was in the fleet; the flaves, both African and Christian, that had been recovered; and the gallevs taken in the port of Valona. The two first feemed very hard, and the third was impossible, as the galleys had been funk. At length this negociation was prolonged 'till the return of Amurath from the fiege of Bagdad. Then the Venetians, hearing that a peace was going to be concluded between the Porte and the Persian empire, and seeing likewise all the princes of Italy divided, thought it would be better to buy a necessary peace, than to expose their commerce to the chance of a war, ever disadvantageous to a commercial nation. The ambassador Contarini, though a captive, had He conthe glory of concluding a treaty, in which the cludes a Turks agreed not to admit the corfairs of Algiers the Porte, into their ports when they should have booty on vents awar. board taken from the Venetians; and the grand feignior promifed to forget the infult which his port of Valona had received, in confideration of three hundred thousand sequins, which the Venetians agreed to pay, in order to make amends for the galleys funk. Thus this foark of war lay buried in ashes some time.

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The grand feignior, who liked to fee all the confiderable places in his empire, vifited the towns of most importance in Diarbekar and Cara-

VOL. III.

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on his rethe war, examines provinces which he paffes through.

J.C. 1639. mania, and was particularly attentive to inflict & 1049. punishments and bestow rewards. He confis-Amurath, cated the property of some prevaricating sangiacs, turn from and gave away a great number of timars, which through the late losses were become vacant, the govern-ment of the This prince, though fo cruel, had a just heart. He did two things during his reign without which the Ottoman empire, beaten for fo long a time by fo many storms, must have fallen. He kept the troops in subjection, and filled the public treasury, fo much, that the desterdars and all the officers that remained at Constantinople faw, with the greatest astonishment, that the prince brought back from the Bagdad expedition double the fum that he bad carried with him. and that all the officers and foldiers returned loaded with booty. The fultan, who had remained feveral weeks at Scutari in order to prepare his triumphal entry, croffed the straits with forty-fix galleys ornamented with streamers and full of mufical inftruments which mixed their harmony with the noise of the artillery. The next day he purposed entering through the principal gate of Constantinople, accompanied by the choice of his troops. He mounted a fuperb horse, and was dressed with a leopard's skin fastened on his shoulder with a large clasp of diamonds. Twenty Persian lords, preserved from the carnage of Bagdad, marched on foot, loaded with filver chains, at the head of his highness's horse,

He makes his triumphal entry into Constantinople.

horse, whose martial and majestic air excited the J.C. 1639. acclamations of all the people.

However, this prince, who feemed to like military exercises, and who had been constantly fuccessful at the head of the army, remained so well fatisfied with the conquest of Bagdad, that he entertained no thought of penetrating further into Persia. The grand vizier, Mustapha, whom he had left at the head of the troops, continued there rather to negociate than to make war. His endeavours were not without fuccefs. The emperor had not been returned to Constantinople above fix weeks, before an ambaffador arrived there from the fophi. This minister was received, less like the ambaffador of a king, come to negociate a treaty, than the deputy of a conquered people who folicit favor. After having waited a very long time for an audience even of the caimacan, they fignified to him the great honor which the emperor deigned to do him in permitting him to kifs the foot of his throne, Amurath pierced with an arrow a buckler made of the ear of an elephant which was one of the presents brought by the ambassador, and which the latter had told him was impenetrable. "The " Persians," faid the prince, " should know, that " nothing is impenetrable to Amurath." He heard, with an affected indifference, the harangue of this minister, and replied to it in a few words with a good deal of haughtiness. The caimacan was ordered to receive the propolitions of peace and L2 VOL. III.

J.C. 1639, and to treat with the Persian. Notwithstanding Heg. 1048, the Ottoman haughtiness and all the advantages Peace with which Amurath had caused to be sounded so high, the town of Revan, conquered by the Turks, and since retaken by the Persians, was confirmed to the latter by the treaty, as that of Bagdad was to the sormer. The Turks saw, with the greatest joy, an end to a war, which exposed them to a climate that always proved fatal to them.

In consequence of Amurath's great attention, the Turkish empire was become more flourishing than it had been under the preceding reigns. This inflexible prince had found means to purge his dominions of those secret enemies that were always waiting for fome foreign war to raife the standard of rebellion; who, no sooner taken from the flavery of the feraglio, to be raifed to the dignities of sangiacs, bashaws, or seraskiers, than they attempted to make themselves sovereigns of the provinces intrusted to them; who took advantage of the liberty which all the governors have of raising troops in their name and in as large a number as they may think necessary, to turn against their master both the arms of his fubjects and the imposts; the affessment, the raifing, and fometimes the use of which, were intrusted to them.

Under shelter of this internal peace, Amurath had restored plenteousness both on the coasts and in the inland territories. Asia began

to furnish Europe with provisions in exchange J.C. 1639. for foreign merchandises, with which its ports & 1049. were filled; and those that administered justice, become equitable and fevere after the example of a master who knew so well how to punish, restored fair dealing in the commerce, order in the towns, fafety in the public roads, and every where abundance and population. If we re-Rect that all these benefits were due to the most debauched, perhaps the most cruel of men, we shall be astonished without doubt, at human nature's being fusceptible of so many contrarieties.

One of the last actions of Amurath's life was to The caihave the caimacan put to death, who had advised macan raihim to depose the waywodes of Transylvania and against the waywode of Walachia. That of Moldavia had prevailed on Walachia, and tries to the caimacan to get his fon appointed waywode have him deposed. of Walachia, though Matthew, the reigning This atprince, was young and in good health, and not fuchad not been guilty of any crime against the the Turk-Porte. Two hundred purfes with which Lupolo fer is put (that was the name of the waywode of Moldavia) to death. had prefented the caimacan, injured the waywode . of Walachia in the opinion of the minister. The latter perfuaded his mafter that this waywode was fecretly conspiring with the Transylvanians to cause a revolution and fall on European Turkey when it should be least thought of. He reprefented the deposition of this tributary prince as both exceedingly just and easy, assuring Amurath that the junction of fome neighbouring garrifons

J.C. 1639, and the Moldavian forces would be sufficient to & 1049. put Matthew to flight, and foon place the fon of Lupolo on the throne of his enemy. The waywode of Walachia found means to defend himfelf against this unjust enterprise, first with victorious arms, and afterward with fubstantial reasons. A messenger, who brought to Constantinople the news of Lupolo's defeat, as well as that of the Turkish troops which had been fent him, brought likewife letters from Matthew addressed to the emperor, full of protestations of fidelity, and such particulars as convinced Amurath that the caimacan had imposed on him. He instantly ordered the minister to be conducted to the Seven Towers. For some days it was thought that he would escape with this chastisement and the loss of his place; but the defterdar, having received orders to take an inventory of his property, reported to the emperor that it amounted to three million pieces of money, without counting the furniture and diamonds which were very valuable and in great quantity. Amurath, who remembered that this officer was not rich before the Persian war, thought that such a rapid and considerable fortune could not be lawfully acquired. After a week's imprisonment, the caimacan was condemned to death, which he suffered with refignation, as almost all the Turks do, bleffing the hour which the fultan orders for their execution, persuaded that this obedience will be of the greatest service to them in the world to come.

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Whilst the affairs of the empire became more and J.C. 1639. more flourishing, the emperor's health was fensibly & 1049 impaired. He had made fuch an ill use of wine, that this liquor was become infipid to him. Spirituous liquors could alone gratify his ftomach, and every day he drank more. This had brought on him the gout, which he feveral times experienced fo feverely, that he was on the point of determining to leave off frong liquors entirely. Amurath really found himself relieved for several months. Becri and Gumir, who faw their favor diminish since they were no longer companions of their mafter's debauchery, left no mean unattempted to perfuade Amurath that, fince his pains were removed, it was useless to keep to a tiresome regimen; they prevailed on the prince to celebrate the bairam, a fort of festival among the Musfulmen, which terminates their ramazan or lent, during which they make great rejoicings and feafts. Instead of sherbets, sugar-waters, and the other mixtures which the Musfulmen make use of in their repasts to correct the crudity of the water and fupply, as much as they possibly can, the place of fermented liquors, they plied the emperor in the bairam repast with the most exquifite and heady wines, of which he had almost Malady of forgotten the taste. This excessive debauchery They rebrought on a dropfy, which had threatened the the fight of fultan for a long time; it made rapid progress, as for. He Amurath yielded continually to the thirst which fore his tormented him. In less than a month the phy-death the

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J.C. 1639. ficians despaired of his life. It was remarked that the latter durst not make use of the remedies with which their art furnished them, for fear that if Amurath, who became more and more furious, should suffer great torments, he would have them put to death; that, on the contrary, the officers that furrounded the prince, and who knew that frequent drinking would inevitably shorten his days, durst not refuse it him; thus the terror which Amurath continually spread around him, did not a little contribute to hasten his death. It kept likewise his successor from his presence. Amurath demanded several times to see his brother Ibrahim, in order to give him, as he faid, some advice about governing; but the valid fultaness, the mother of the two princes, constantly kept Ibrahim from the apartment of his dying brother. She remembered that fultan Amurath, in the height of his grief at the death of a fon who had lived but a few months, had exclaimed that he would have the whole Ottoman race perish with him, fince he could not perpetuate it. The valid fultaness, who knew the fanguinary disposition of Amurath, thought of nothing but how to prevent a calamity that would have realised the pretensions of the khan of the Crimean Tartars to the throne of Constantinople, or which would have exposed perhaps this vast empire to a shock capable of shaking it to its foundation. The emperor could never prevail to have his brother brought to him, in spite of the reiterated

iterated orders that he gave for it. Amurath, J.C. 1639. feeing himself no longer obeyed, was convinced & 1049. that he was near his end. The last mortification that he experienced was the lofs of his dear Becri, who died of the same excess as his master some days before him. The emperor ordered a superb funeral for his companion in debauchery. He purposed having a magnificent column built on Becri's tomb, an honor paid to the most celebrated men only. But the Turks but little respect the commands of their emperors after they are dead, though they would have executed them with terror during their life.

Amurath died the first of March 1640, aged J.C. 1640. thirty one, after a reign of seventeen years, more Death of glorious than could have been expected. Fine Amurath. talents were perceivable amidst all his vices. Nature had endowed him with an active mind and a nicety of discernment. Amurath knew how to reward and punish: he was perfuaded of the neceffity of governing by himfelf and of feeing every thing with his own eyes, notwithstanding the prejudice of the Turks, who fancy their emperor formidable in proportion as he is invisible. Amurath, convinced that to govern men it was necesfary to know them, mixed with the people; he permitted free access to his throne to all that had any just reasons to conduct them thither. gave his foldiers himself the example of military fatigues, and his ministers that of an affiduous

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VOL. III.

J.C. 1640. raglio it was almost always with few attendants. He carefully examined if there were any fires over the heads of those that furrounded him; it has been already observed, that those, who have no access to the seraglio, take this method of letting the emperor know that they have some favor to ask or fome complaint to make. When Amurath perceived any one make this fign, he would order him to come near. He never permitted any minister to receive his petition, as had been the practice of his predecessors, left the complaint made should directly regard the man whom he should have intrusted to receive it, or some one of his friends. In fine, Amurath is counted in the number of the best emperors that have possessed the throne of Constantinople. He would have merited the title of a great man, if nature or his education could have taught him that his fubjects were human beings like himself; but he never considered them otherwise than as portions of his domain which it was necessary to manage with economy in order to augment his riches or his glory. His fanguinary humour made him at times both unjust and cruel. His love of wine was likewife another blemish in his character, more particularly as it shortened his days.

.C. 1640. Heg. 1049, & 1050.

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EIGHTEENTH REIGN.

AS foon as Amurath IV. was dead, the grand vizier, Mustapha, lately returned from Asia, the mufti, the two cadileskers, the reis effendi, the bashaws of the bench, the aga of the janissaries, the spahi agasi, and all that had a right to enter the divan, repaired thither in great number. Some officers of the janisfaries had murmured at the preferment of Ibrahim the only remaining prince of the Ottoman race, but who was faid to be quite incapable of reigning. The khan of the Tartars, whom this choice could alone regard, and who was ignorant of the weakness of Ibrahim, had not made any motion; and Kiosem, the valid fultaness, mother of Ibrahim as of Amurath IV., had so prepared the minds of the people during the last days of the emperor, that as foon as he was dead, the great officers unanimously agreed that the only remaining prince of the house which had reigned more than three centu-They Ibrahim is ries, had alone a right to the throne. went together to the prison of Ibrahim to inform taken from his prison, him that he was emperor. This prince, of a weak and ascends the throne. constitution and timid character, was become much more fo fince Amurath had put to death Bajazet their brother, and shut up him in a small,

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J.C. 1640. dark place, where he seemed to have nothing more to expect than death. When he faw all the great officers of the empire furround his prison, he did not doubt that his last hour was arrived, taking for a fnare the acclamations which he heard from those that called him their emperor. This prince protested a long time that there ought to be no other emperor than Amurath, and that they could not, without a crime, acknowledge another. He feigned not to understand those that told him that Amurath was dead. The valid fultaness came and certified to him what he refused to believe; but even she could not obtain his confidence 'till she had shewn him the corpse of Amurath IV. Then Ibrahim, diffembling his joy, prepared to render some honors to the dead body of his predecessor. With the assistance of the musti and the two cadileskers, he carried this corpse out of the feraglio, where the janisfaries received it in order to deposit it in Achmet's tomb. Ibrahim went and fat himself on the throne of his ancestors, from whence he was conducted to Jub mosque, where he had the sword of Othman girded on him with the usual ceremoies. After the present made the troops, he re-entered Constantinople in cavalcade, according to custom, furrounded by the great officers, and the choice of the bostangis, spahis, and janisfaries. The vest and turban of the new emperor were studded over with a great number of diamonds. a fuperb horse. Amidst this pomp, Ibrahim shewed

shewed so little grace and address; his counte- J.C. 1640. Heg. 1049, nance, on which nothing was perceivable but & 1050. astonishment or terror, his height, his attitudes, in fhort his whole outward appearance, were fo different from that of the lofty Amurath, that the people conceived an unfavorable opinion of him at first fight. Even bursts of laughter and hooting were heard, instead of those acclamations which usually fill the air on similar occasions.

The valid fultaness and the grand vizier Mus- Good untapha lived at first in an union become necessary derstanding for the good of the state, and especially for their the valid personal interest. And indeed, under such an the grand vizier Musemperor, their authority could not but be abfo- taphain the governlute, provided they could agree. All the officers ment of the empire. appointed by Amurath IV. and who had acknowledged his brother for their mafter, were continued in their places: thus, in the beginning, Amurath's shade still governed. They learned that the bashaw of Rhodes had had the son of the khan of the Crimean Tartars, who was kept as a hostage in that island, put to death, only because he had faid, that if the new emperor Ibrahim should die without children, as there was reason to expect, the Ottoman sceptre would belong to his family. This cruelty caused no disturbance: the khan of the Tartars without doubt did not think himfelf strong enough to undertake to revenge his fon. The grand vizier was then making great preparations. The neighbouring princes endeavoured to discover which way the prime

minister

lives in effeminacy.

J.C. 1640. minister meant to direct the forces of the empire. As to Ibrahim, he seemed to be mounted on the throne, only to fleep there. More debauched than his brother, but destitute of the talents which had been fo much admired in that prince, the new emperor abandoned the reins of government to his grand vizier and the valid fultaness. Kiosem went to the divan, or rather she heard what paffed in that affembly, from the window called dangerous, on account of its looking into the divan chamber from a gallery in the feraglio, which being covered with a thin gauze, the fultans can hear every thing that passes between their ministers, and have been sometimes known to open this window to give rigorous orders, in consequence of what they had just heard. An ambassador from Persia came to compliment the new monarch, to bring him rich prefents, and the ratification of the last treaty. The envoy of the emperor of the West, who, towards the end of the preceding reign, had in vain folicited the precedency over the French ambassador, received his audience after that of Persia. The emperor of the West resolved for the future to give the minister that he kept at Constantinople the title of resident only, in order not to give up, even at the Porte, the pre-eminence which he obtains without difficulty in all other courts.

Though the grand vizier, Mustapha, longed to fignalize his ministry by conquests, he was constrained by unforeseen accidents to put off his projects

projects of war to the following year. A fire con- J.C. 1641. fumed, in less than two days, two considerable & 1051. quarters of Constantinople. The vizier's atten- Great fire tion preserved most of the stone edifices; but tinople. houses constructed of painted wood, which are very numerous at Constantinople, could not resist the violence of the fire, increased by a high wind. This accident too common, notwithstanding the precautions taken against it, is one of the greatest obstacles to the riches and population of this capital. Moreover, the new emperor, who had Indifpofipaffed fo fuddenly from the hardest captivity to emperor. the midit of pleasures, had made such an ill use of them, that in a few months this enervated prince fell into a debility which threatened to degenerate into a palfy. As it was feared that he might die without children, the grand vizier would not leave Constantinople, nor fend away the vessels which he had just armed. But when the emperor's health was repaired, Mustapha, who was unwilling that all this preparation should siege of be made for nothing, refolved to fend the new Alopha captain bashaw Ali (for they had deposed Gumir) with the fleet to beliege Afoph. As to himfelf, he remained at Constantinople.

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One of the first acts of rigour which the vizier Execution made use of, was against Gumir the Persian, who had been fuch a favorite with the last emperor. It was with pleasure people saw this man called to an account for the immense sums that he had heaped up under the last reign, and which

they

J.C. 1641. they suspected he had an intention to convey to & 1051. Persia, in order to their being secure from the country whence he had drawn them. As foon as Mustapha was certain of the whole, he had Gumir strangled, without reproaching him with any other crime than his debaucheries with Amurath; and had his corpfe exposed to the eyes of the populace, as if he would punish more rigorously than any other criminal, the man whom he confidered as the real murderer of his master.

Whilst the grand vizier was avenging the death of the last emperor, Ibrahim, re-established in health, debased himself in the face of the whole empire. Though he was furrounded by a crowd of beauties brought at a great expence from all the corners of Asia, the depravity of his inclination made him defire what was not in his power. Having heard the greatest encomiums passed on the charms of one of the assakys of have one of Amurath IV. who had retired to the old feraglio, like all the fultanesses of the deceased emperors, the voluptuous Ibrahim was inflamed by the obstacles; and, notwithstanding the law, which expressly forbids the knowing of a brother's wife, he would have Fatma (that was her name) conducted to the apartment which she had occupied in the haram in the reign of Amurath. emperor's defires increased at fight of the fair fultaness; but he could never prevail on her. The widow of Amurath IV. disdainfully resisted

The grand feignior wants to his predeeeffor's fultanesses.

all his attempts; and when Ibrahim, renouncing J.C. 1641. his endeavours to please, wanted to make use of & 1051. the absolute power which he ought to have in the haram more than any where elfe, it was with equally as little fuccess; for the haughty Fatma drew the poniard which her dignity of fultaness authorised her to wear at her girdle, to defend herfelf against the emperor. The latter, but little formed for fuch a reception, discovered as much fright amidst his women and eunuchs, as he could have shewn in the defeat of an army. On his receiving a very fevere reprimand from the valid fultaness, he was so transported with shame and rage, that he threatened his mother, who had 'till then had fo much influence over him, to have her shut up in the old feraglio. From that time the contempt that the valid fultaness had for her fon was accompanied by a fecret hatred, which was one of the causes of his fall.

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Meanwhile a numerous and brilliant army was confumed at the fiege of Afoph without any fuccess. Though an envoy was come from Muscovy to affure the emperor, from the great duke, that that prince would give no fuccours either directly or indirectly to the Coffacks, thefe foldiers had found great resources in their valour. The Ottoman army, reduced to one-third in less than fix months, had no longer either provisions The captain bashaw raised the siege. tainbashaw or vessels. As Mustapha thought this general ought to be is obliged made responsible for all these disasters, the cap- the siege of Asoph, and N VOL. III.

tain is deposed.

J.C. 1642. tain bashaw lost at the same time his dignity and the command of the army.

The grand place that of captain bathaw.

The grand vizier Mustapha, more powerful nites to his than any of his predecessors, joined the place of captain bashaw, 'till then the second in the empire, to that of grand vizier. He met with no obstacles, either from the emperor, to whom every thing appeared indifferent, or the valid fultaness, who had not yet taken umbrage at his too great authority. The government of Silistria and the command of another expedition against Afoph were given to the bashaw of Grand Cairo. The grand vizier wished to put a speedy termination to some disputes that had arisen with the Germans on the frontiers of Hungary about Baron Gustemberg, who commanded there for the Germans, had fome conferences with the neighbouring bashaws and sangiacs, Treaty re- These last, agreeably to the orders which they the empe- had received from the Porte, granted the German general nearly every thing he would have. treaty was not difficult to conclude; a truce was

newed with ror of the Weft.

homet.

The very day of this ratification, one of the odalisks presented the sultan with a prince, which gave universal joy throughout the empire. Ibra-Birth of a him's infirmities had justly given reason to fear called Ma- that the Ottoman race would become extinct with This new prop of the throne, who was called Mahomet after the prophet, dispersed the

agreed on for twenty years, which the grand feignior ratified without examining the clauses.

fears

fears of those who presaged a number of troubles J.C. 1642. and much blood spilt, if it had been necessary to establish a new family on the throne of Constantinople. The khan of the Tartars was perhaps the only person that did not participate in the public joy; it was prefently increased by the news of the taking of Asoph, though the circumstances diminished considerably the glory and advantage of that conquest. The Cossacks, who had learned that a more confiderable army than the first was about to begin its march, and that they should be again attacked by land and fea, were conscious they should not be always able to withstand forces so superior to theirs. Having folicited the affiftance of the czar, that prince replied, that he had just concluded a treaty with the Turks, and that he would not be the first to infringe it. On this, the Coffacks refolved to abandon Afoph. They carrried away every thing they could from this town which a good port had enriched; they destroyed the ramparts; they attempted to render the entrance inaccessible by fea; in short, they did all the mischief that the time would permit them to commit in a place which they did not think themselves able to preferve; and, having departed before they perceived the Ottoman fleet, the Turks found on their arrival, instead of a formidable place well defended, the smoaking ruins of an abandoned Taking of town. The bashaw of Silistria, who had expected Asoph. to deftroy this place, employed all the men that

VOL. III.

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J.C. 1642. he had brought from Constantinople, to repair it. The ammunition on board the fleet was carried to magazines. All the foldiers turned masons. The general had the ramparts rebuilt by those that he had brought to beat them down; and when he had once more raifed this ruined town. he recalled all the citizens, promifing them privileges and the protection of the grand feignior. As there had not been fufficient time to fill up the harbour, and the town being very advantageously situated for commerce, the inhabitants returned in crowds. The bashaw of Silistria added some new fortifications, in order to defend it against the Cossacks. This town is become in a few years one of the best ports of the Pont Euxine.

J.C. 1643.

The empire feemed to flourish. The treaties, as we have feen, had been renewed with all the neighbouring states; but the head of this great body was not sufficiently found, to enjoy a very perfect health. Notwithstanding the activity and talents of Mustapha, the name of the grand vizier could not be fo respected as that of Amurath IV. had been. Every one knew that the power of the grand vizier was counterbalanced by that of the valid fultaness. Those, that wanted to raise difficulties or make illicit profits, depended on Kiofem. Kerar bashaw, who commanded in the isle of Cyprus, one of the richest possessions in the empire, grew tired of faithfully fending every year the immense product of that island to Constantinople,

frantinople, and of giving the troops that guarded J.C. 1643. Heg. 1053. it under his command a confiderable pay which he would rather have appropriated to himfelf. He did not doubt but Kiosem would listen to Prevarithe women and eunuchs that furrounded her, chastifeand that these forts of minions would prefer their bashaw of own particular advantage to that of the empire. With this hope he fent confiderable prefents to the principal fervants of the valid fultaness, and, in a little time, neglected, under false pretences, to fend the defterdar the money which he received for the fultan. He replied to the repeated orders of the grand vizier, that he had accounted with the defterdar of fultanels Kiosem for the product of his government. His unbounded avarice made him disband two thirds of the troops employed to guard the island, in order to appropriate their pay to himself. Mustapha, astonished at this audacity, was still more so when he learned that the valid fultaness countenanced it, and when. on the repeated complaints that he made to her against the bashaw of Cyprus, Kiosem answered with authority that she knew what was done with the money, and that she would not have Kerar. the bashaw of that province, called to an account. In vain did the grand vizier attempt to demonstrate to the sultaness that this rich portion of the revenues of the empire was entirely kept back: Kiofem, who would be obeyed, and who without doubt shared in this depredation, imposed silence on the vizier; but she was unable to tie his hands. Mustapha

.C. 1643. Mustapha had ten sail fitted out, which were to cruise in the Mediterranean, collect the imposts of the isles of the Archipelago, and carry merchandise to these different countries. The vizier ordered the commander of this squadron to pass off the ifle of Cyprus, and to take charge of some commissions from the valid sultaness. When the ten vessels approached the island, the bashaw, who fent to discover what they were, demanded by what order they prefumed to enter his government. The commander of the fleet replied, that he had no intention to land at Cyprus, but that he had dispatches from the valid sultaness for the balhaw of that illand; that it was necessary for him to fee him; that if the bashaw would but come on board only to pass a few hours, he would receive letters and hear fome particulars which he would not be forry to know. Kerar bashaw, who had but very few troops, learned with great pleafure that he had nothing to fear from this fleet, Impatient to read the letters of his powerful protectress, and being unwilling to let these vessels which had frighted him come nearer, he hastened to get into a shallop and go on board. He was received in the fleet as the favorite of her who governed the empire; but, during the repast which was given him in the admiral galley, they found means to remove most of his attendants. Whilst he was reading the fultaness's letters, the fatal bowstring was put round his neck, and he was strangled without having the leifure to prepare himfelf

himself for death. Immediately the ten galleys J.C. 1643. entered the port. The vice-captain had the bafhaw's head placed by the fide of his flag: This fight having spread terror, the admiral landed and shewed the order sealed with the seals of the empire which appointed him governor, in the room of the criminal that had recently fuffered fo just a punishment. The land forces being debarked, eight of the galleys were fent back to Constantinople, carrying the confiscated property of Kerar bashaw, and his head, which the grand vizier had the temerity to fend to the criminal's protectress. The fultaness Kiosem received this Birth of infult amidst the rejoicings which were making at two prin-Constantinople on account of the birth of two princes, who were brought forth nearly at the fame time by two different odalisks. The fatiffaction which she felt at seeing the Ottoman house strengthened, was insufficient to appeale her refentment at the grand vizier's behaviour. Being thoroughly refolved on revenge, she thought only how to get Mustapha out of favor with her fon, without the minister's being able to perceive it. Calumnies were not spared: the odalisks joined in the plot: in short, every thing, except truth, was made use of to perfuade Ibrahim, that the best minister he could have, was the enemy of his state and of his person. Ibrahim abandoned his grand vizier to the refentment of his mother, without Mustapha's important services exciting in his mafter the least defire of examining

Death of the grand vizier.

J.C. 1643. amining his conduct. But the vindictive Kiosem perceived the danger of publicly putting to death a grand vizier beloved by the troops and people: she inticed him into the inner part of the seraglio, where he was furprifed and ftrangled as the bashaw of Cyprus had been. It was given out that he died of an apoplexy. The feals were given to one Mehemet, bashaw of Damascus, from whom Kiosem hoped for more complaisance; and the place of captain bashaw, which was no more to be united to that of grand vizier; was conferred on the felictar aga, called Joufef.* Mustapha was greatly regretted by the people and foldiers: it was not known, 'till a long time after, how he met his end; but this outrage of the valid fultaness's did not go unpunished.

1.C. 1644. Heg. 1054.

Adventures of the eunuch's fon, fince known by the name of father Ottoman.

Under fuch a reign as Ibrahim's the most trifling causes were capable of producing the greatest events, and the intrigues of the feraglio influenced the government of the whole empire. A kislar aga was of much greater importance than a general of the army: the famous war of Candia was likewise occasioned by the kislar aga, which is one of the most memorable events in the Turkish history. This officer, who, as all the world knows, is the chief black eunuch, and keeper of the grand feignior's women, by a barbarous luxury had likewise women at his disposal, who were kept in a quarter separated from the haram. The kislar aga purchased one that proved

[.] The felictar aga is the grand feignior's sword-bearer.

proved with child, and who, a few months after J.C. 1644. her entering the haram, brought forth a fon. The mother and child were extremely beautiful. This flave, on her recovery from child-bed, was chosen to nurse the little prince Mahomet. Ibrahim attached himfelf greatly to the wife and fon of the eunuch. It was thus they were filed in the haram. This nurse and the child she had brought forth were admitted to the most intimate familiarity with the emperor, fo much fo, that the favorite fultaness soon grew jealous of it. This fultaness had not the credit to remove from the feraglio the objects which displeased her; for, as we have before faid, two other odalisks had each brought forth a prince a short time after her. It was thought the eunuch's wife would foon become a fultaness likewise; but an event, worthy of this court, caused her to be banished from the feraglio, as likewise her son. One day, as Ibrahim, walking in his gardens, was lavishing on this child careffes which the favorite fultaness pretended were due to her fon only, the latter expressed her displeasure at it to the emperor with fo much feverity, that Ibrahim, irritated, fnatched the little prince Mahomet from his mother's arms, and threw him into a bason, where he would have been drowned, if he had not been quickly affifted. The child was not faved from this danger before he had fwallowed a great deal of water, and received fuch a wound in his head, that it was a long time doubtful if he would get VOL: III. over

J.C. 1644. over it, and of which he retained the mark all his life. The valid fultaness exclaimed loudly against the conduct and proceedings of her son. She talked to him fo gravely on the injury which he was on the point of doing the empire, by depriving it of the presumptive heir to the throne, that the weak monarch confented to remove those for ever from the court who had occasioned these disturbances. The kislar aga defired permission to make the pilgrimage of Mecca with his pretended family. He shipped on board the fleet which had brought the imposts from Alexandria, his riches which were immense, to which he added the gifts of the favorite fultaness who saw them set out with so much pleafure, and considerable presents from the sultan, who had great difficulty to separate from the child and mother. This voyage was made with fo much pomp, that the people did not doubt that this was a fultaness, and a son of the emperor's whom they were fending to Mecca. The prefence of the kislar aga rendered this report more probable. The eunuch was taken, by those that faw fo much property and fo many flaves put on board, for the steward and governor of this precious child, of whom he could not be the father. The Alexandrian fleet was composed of one large galleon, two veffels less considerable, and seven The fultanesses, anxious to fend off faicks. those that gave them umbrage, obliged these vessels to put to sea, though the wind was unfavorable.

vorable. After beating about a long time, a J.C. 1644 tempest constrained them to take shelter in the port of Rhodes. The news of fuch a rich embarcation having foon reached Malta, feven galleys well equipped and manned failed to wait for the Alexandrian fleet in a latitude that it could not avoid. The knights attacked the Turks, who defended themselves a long time; even the eunuch shewed a courage that could not have been expected either from his state, or education, or the effeminacy in which he had lived. He died fword in hand, as did most of his followers. The boarding was fo bloody, that the knights of Malta, who were conquerors, lost twelve of their companions and more than three hundred foldiers. The battle being over, the knights went and cast anchor at Calismena, a port on the south fide of the island of Candia, where they refitted and provided themselves with some ammunition, which they were in want of for the fafety of their return. From thence they triumphantly entered the port of Malta, perfuaded that they had gotten a fon of the emperor of the East. Without doubt the slave his mother contributed to credit this report. The knights published throughout Europe this important capture. They paid this child the honors which they thought due to the fon of a fovereign; but time having difcovered the truth, this supposed prince left Malta, where no care was taken about guarding him, and after having passed in misery through VOL. III. feveral

J.C. 1644 several countries, at length turned monk at Heg. 1054. Rome under the name of father Ottoman.

The Turks meditate to revenge themselves of the Order of Malta.

The rage of Ibrahim at the news of this loss might well give reason to think that the Maltese had taken his fon. He vowed the destruction of this nest of pirates (it was thus he termed the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem). The grand vizier bitterly reproached the Venetian ambaffador with his republic's having harboured in the ise of Candia those who had just plundered the grand feignior's fleet and were dragging his fubjects into flavery. The noble Soranzo, who then represented the republic at Constantinople, replied, that the port of Califmena was not defended by any castle, or even fortification: that it was impossible to hinder any vessel, friend or enemy, armed or unarmed, from entering it; that the falt water was as free there as the air; that in short the Venetians could not be accused of have ing committed any hostility, in leaving open a port which had never been shut since they were masters of the isle of Candia. The vizier seemed to be fatisfied with this reply: it was for a long time thought that the fleet fitting out at the Porte menaced the rock of Malta. Nothing was talked of at Constantinople but exterminating every inhabitant of that island, and to throw all the buildings and heaps of earth into the fea that might have been raifed there to vanquish nature. The grand mafter and the council of the Order did not doubt that it was intended to make them

them pay dearly for the booty that they had J.C. 1644gained, and the glory which they arrogated to
themselves of having taken a prince of the
Ottoman race. All the knights were summoned, and all the ports of the isles of Malta and
Gozzi were put in a good state of desence with
every expedition.

Meanwhile, the viziers and all the members of the divan reminded the fultan of what had paffed in the two fieges of Malta. They observed to him, that when the Turks could flatter themseves with being more fortunate than they were then, the conquest of Malta, at best both excessively toilsome and bloody, would produce them the possession of an arid rock only, where the knights could maintain a few thousand men, only by the aid of the possessions which they had throughout Europe; that when Malta should be taken, the Order of St. John could not be considered as destroyed; that this hydra had as many heads as there were provinces in the catholic countries: and that the Order, after having loft the fertile isle of Rhodes, had sprung up again, if not more rich, at least more formidable to the Musfulmen; that it would be more prudent in the offended to turn all the force of their vengeance against enemies less martial and who had more to lose; that, fince the Venetians were accomplices in the outrage committed on the Ottoman empire, it would be right to take the ifle of Candia, which would Hafmal was and to seefurnish

J.C. 1644. furnish considerable indemnities for the loss they had to complain of.

They refolve afterward to attack the ifle of Candia.

Ibrahim liftened to these reasons. The expedition against Candia was resolved on; but every thing was kept a profound fecret in the divan: it was the more easy to be concealed, because the preparations threatened the isle of Malta. In vain did the Venetians instruct their ambassador to penetrate the real designs of the Porte: the Italian was deluded; the feigned careffes of the Turks, and the affurance which they gave him that they were going to attack the rock of Malta, lulled his vigilance and disconcerted all his plots. Notwithstanding the fecurity of the ambassador, the Venetians prepared to receive the enemy; they affembled their fleet, and collected ammunition and provisions, in order to defend the possessions of the republic, or fend fuccours to their allies.

J.C. 1645. Firft campaign in Candia.

At length, in the spring of the year 1645, the Heg. 1055. Ottoman fleet was in a fituation to weigh anchor. It was composed of eighty-two galleys, twenty high built veffels, and three hundred faicks, carrying seven thousand janissaries, fourteen thoufand timarians, fifty thousand spahis, topggis, and levantis, and three thousand pioneers. Notwithstanding the indolence of Ibrahim, which rendered him so indifferent with respect to the government of his empire, he had greatly interested himself in this armament, and saw the departure of the fleet himself from a chiosk placed

placed at the end of the feraglio. The captain J.C. 1645 bashaw, Jouses, commanded the fleet; Musa bashaw, one of the viziers of the bench, had the command of the troops; and the kulkiec udafi, or lieutenant-general of the janisfaries, was to act as adjutant-general to the army under the two bashaws. The grand seignior gave his orders to the two commanders in presence of all the fleet; they were fealed up, and not to be opened but in a council of war, after having passed the Dardanelles. The Venetian ambassador had seen the captain bashaw the evening before his departure, and had been received by him with an apparent familiarity. The minister thought himself very certain that the Turks did not menace any of the dominions of his republic. The port of Scio had been ordered for the rendezvous of these vessels. As they were stretching towards Napoli di Romania, a tempest obliged them to separate; most of the faicks were driven towards the isles of Mycone and Tina. The latter belongs to the Venetians. The vessels were received there as friends; and the Turks were provided with fresh water and all the provisions that were to be gotten in the island. The fleet being foon put in order again, appeared off Cerigo, another island belonging to the Venetians. One galleon and one brigantine entered the port. The brigantine carried the proveditor letters from the grand vizier, who demanded the customary annual present of coffee and sugar. When the Turks

J.C. 1645. Turks received this present, they assured the captain of the vessel of the good intentions and affection of the grand feignior. They made use of this artifice because they had learned from constant experience that they are never fo strong by fea as the Christians; and that their fleets, though nu. merous and well provided, are often beaten by vessels better built and managed with greater skill. As they had menaced the Order of Malta, the knights, who had not too many forces for the defence of the island, awaited the shock with as much vigilance as refolution; but they had not fent one of their galleys to fea. The Venetians, who dreaded a war with fuch a formidable power, had taken great care how they provoked it; they had only provisioned and prepared all their islands, in case the Turks should attack any of them.

> When the Ottomans were off Candia, the captain bashaw dispatched a brigantine to Constantinople, to inform the emperor of his fafe arrival, and that he was then going to land the troops. Immediately on this, war was publicly declared. The Turks, instead of fending back the Venetian ambaffador, shut him up in a close prison, and published by found of trumpet, that they might kill, or make flaves of, all the subjects of the republic.

> Meanwhile the fleet advanced towards Candia: it formed a crescent on the sea, which was disturbed only just as much as was necessary to execute

execute a manœuvre. The descent was made J.C. 1645. without any opposition. The isle of Candia is about two hundred and fifty miles long and fixty broad; it is fituated in a fine climate, and is very populous and fertile, like all the isles of the Archipelago. The Turks encamped for fome time, in order to refresh themselves and get a knowledge of the country, which they caused to be fcoured by fome parties of cavalry. All the peafants had retired to the towns, but they had not had time to transport the riches of the country thither. The Turks found every where the abundance that they had expected, and which they knew how to turn to advantage. Musa bashaw resolved to besiege Canea. This place Canea and was confidered as the fecond in the island; Retimo though it was well victualed and bravely defended, the Turks entered the town after granting the garrison leave to march out with their arms and baggage. Cornaro, who commanded at Canea, thought it would be best to spare his men for the defence of the rest of the island. He went and threw himself into Retimo, another place which was taken the fame campaign, after Cornaro had been killed in the breach.

The captain bashaw, who saw this war so auspiciously commenced, wished to carry the news of his fuccess to Constantinople, before the season might render the fea dangerous. He knew he should meet no enemies on his passage, as some spies, which the Turks kept at Venice, had sent VOL. III. him

J.C. 1645. him word that the republic was foliciting fuccours in vain throughout Christendom. The pope was unable to obtain from the different powers of Italy either the troops or vessels that he asked. Neither the Genoese, nor the knights of Malta, nor the grand duke of Tufcany, would fend veffels in the same fleet, because each power claimed the honor of the flag. In vain did the pope represent to them that these disputes would cause the Venetians the loss of the isle of Candia, strengthen the power of the Turks, and bring them nearer and nearer to Italy; in vain did he propose to have all the vessels of the different powers fail under the flag of Saint Peter, as an auxiliary fleet, and to put off to a more fortunate period this discussion of precedency so fatal to the common cause. Neither the grand duke nor Genoa would confent to this expedient. galleys of the pope and those of the Order of Malta not finding themselves strong enough to keep the sea against such a considerable fleet as that of the Turks, would not venture to attack them on their return, though war vas declared.

Campaign in Dalmatia, unfor-

This fame campaign the grand feignior had fent an army into Dalmatia, in order to attack tunate for the Venetians on more than one side; but that republic was more fortunate on the continent than it had been in the island of Candia. Foscolo. the Venetian general, repulsed Alibec, the fangiac of Clissa, and took Novigrad, the fortifications of which he demolished.

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The emperor Ibrahim appeared as little af- J.C. 1646. Heg. 1056. frighted at the ill fuccess of his arms in Dalmatia, as he had been infensible of their success in the ifle of Candia. All the blood that was shed to wash away the pretended insult offered to his flag, or rather to extend the Ottoman possessions, was foreign to him, and he would not have given himself any uneafiness about the success of the fleet, if it had not rendered the paffage of the veffels more hazardous which brought rich stuffs from Europe to fatisfy the luxury of his affakys. Brigantines were dispatched from Constantinople to meet the merchantmen, which expedited the arrival of these superfluities, much more interesting for the Ottoman court, than the news of a province added to the empire would have been. This proceeding was very injurious to commerce. The eunuchs, who ferved the impatience of their mistresses, excused themselves from paying for the commodities which they bought up, as they faid the merchants would receive their money at Constantinople; and when the veffels were at length arrived in the port, the captains, who had parted with their goods, could not get themselves paid. Some English experienced this injustice several times following. Sir - - - Bendish their am- The Engbaffador, who was at the Porte, like the other fador has ministers of the European powers, principally to justice done the protect the commerce of his nation, complained nierchants to the grand vizier; whose reply was always, tion. P 2

that

VOL. III.

Heg. 1056.

J.C. 1646. that he could take no notice of this affair. Sir - - - - Bendish, in concert with Mr. Lahaye, at that time ambaffador from France, and the Dutch ambassador, resolved to demand of the grand feignior himself the justice which his ministers refused him. All the foreign vessels then in the port of Constantinople, sailed along by the feraglio walls, carrying an earthen pan filled with fire at their main mast head. We have already faid that those, who have some complaint to make to the grand feignior, hold a lighted match over their heads. This fleet of more than forty fail, thus lighted up, presented the idea of a menace rather than a complaint. All the failors made loud shouts to the emperor Ibrahim, from whom, as they faid, they wished to obtain justice prior to their demanding it from their masters. The grand seignior and his vizier perceived the necessity of stifling these The merchants were heard, and their vessels did not re-enter the port 'till their demands had been fully fatisfied. Sir ---- Bendish was but badly recompensed for the service which he had just rendered his nation. Though the merchants faw him entirely occupied with the care of protecting their commerce and defending them from vexations, they found out that he had that unpardonable fault for an Englishman of that century, the being faithful to his lawful fove-They prefently refused to acknowledge reign. after difre- the fort of magistracy which all the ambassadors fent back at the Porte exercise over their countrymen;

He is foon

without

without agreeing at first in the real cause of their J.C. 1646. discontent, they pretended to shake off his authority under a thousand false pretences; so much fo, that the ambaffador faw himfelf obliged to have recourse to the grand vizier to keep the English in obedience; but when the parliament of England had manifested its revolt, the merchants of the factory of Constantinople declared, that they would no longer acknowledge the ambaffador of Charles Stuart. They scattered plenty of gold in the feraglio in order to obtain the fupport of fultaness Kiosem. Notwithstanding the strong representations of the French ambassador, who in vain attempted to make the grand vizier comprehend that this affair equally interested every monarch, fir ---- Bendish was arrested in the English palace, and conducted, with the most indecent precipitation, on board a veffel, which carried him back to his own country. Lady Bendish, his wife, was allowed but three days to have her effects shipped on board another vessel. Ibrahim, most likely, was ignorant of this manifest violation of the law of fovereigns; and was incapable perhaps of comprehending how dangerous fuch an example given his nation might be for himfelf.

This prince, more taken up with his family Marriage of the capthan his empire, married his daughter, only four tain bayears old, to the captain bashaw Jouses. This sef, with one of the compensation of the captain bashaw for the place that emperor's he held, which has very considerable revenues,

than

C. 1646. than by the fortune which his father left him, who had been a long time an officer in the cuftoms. Joufef had fucceeded to the whole of it, though, according to law, the chattels of the officers of the empire belong to the grand feignior at their death: their children inheriting the houses and lands only. Sultan Amurath IV. had given Jousef all his paternal property, as a recompense for his services; and Ibrahim, who, like his predeceffors, counted among his poffessions the private fortunes of his subjects, had determined to secure his daughter that of Jouses. We have already feen that this honor is not very desirable for the great men of the Ottoman empire. Without much augmenting their power, it gives them an additional master, instead of feveral obedient wives; but no one dares refuse this supposed favor, which the sultans often render ftill more burdensome, by marrying their daughters in the most tender age; and the husband is obliged to be faithful to a child, because she is the daughter of his fovereign; he is not to know any other woman more than his imperious half will deign to permit him. The fultanesses by birth wear a poniard at their girdle, like those worn by the grand feignior's ladies, and the hufband given them, to speak properly, is nothing more than their upper fervant. The captain bashaw had but just concluded a marriage of this kind, when Ibrahim, who 'till then had always trusted the whole management of affairs to his vizier,

zier, commanded his new fon-in-law to get ready J.C. 1646. a fleet to carry troops and ammunition to Candia. It was then the middle of winter, and the winds Reason of rendered navigation impracticable. The cap- his speedy tain bashaw took the liberty to represent to his J.C. 1647. mafter that this order was premature, and that it Heg. 1057. would be exposing to an almost certain loss all the veffels that should be fent to fea at that feafon, which was equally improper too for military operations. Ibrahim faw only, in a reprefentation so just, the audacity of a subject who had the prefumption to disobey him. Being little accustomed to yield to good reasons, he reiterated his order with the tone of an emperor that will be obeyed. Joufef repeated his objections more particularly; Ibrahim, more and more irritated, told the captain bashaw, that he must obey or die. Jousef replied, that he would rather die alone, than draw fo many thousands of men along with him in his ruin. Ibrahim ordered him to be taken from his presence, and signed the same instant a catcherif, which condemned him to be ftrangled. The grand vizier, who witneffed what had passed, endeavoured to avert this iniquitous judgment of his master's, and preserve the nation a useful subject. He went to the condemned admiral in the place where he was guarded, and, taking upon him to retard the execution of the catcherif, pressed the captain bashaw to make the emperor satisfaction, whose anger would probably be mitigated by the circumstance of his recent mar-

J.C. 1647: riage. The vizier went so far as to answer for procuring the revocation of this cruel order, if the captain bashaw would but ask pardon; but the emperor's fon-in-law was immoveable; he replied to the grand vizier, that when a person was born an Ottoman, and particularly a subject of Ibrahim's, he should be contented to die; that he lamented fincerely those who were to grow old under fuch a master, and who should witness the many diforders that would infallibly happen. He eagerly demanded the catcherif which condemned him to death. The grand vizier held it hidden in his bosom. When it had been given to Jousef, he wrote under it that he bleffed the will of the emperor, and the hour in which his foul was to be re-united to the fupreme being; that he supplicated his highness, through favor of his new marriage, to fuffer fifty purses, which make three thousand one hundred and twentyfive pounds sterling, to be taken from his immenfe fortune which was going to belong to the fultaness his wife, intending that fum for the maintenance of a fon which his favorite flave had brought him the day before; that this fum would be sufficient for the mother and son to lead a private life at a distance from Constantinople, which he ordered them to quit for ever. After having figned this, Jousef returned the catcherif to the grand vizier; he gave him a large diamond which ornamented his turban, conjuring him to take care and see what he had written put in execution.

cution. He faid aloud his prayer, called the J.C. 1647.
Heg. 1057. executioners, and made a fign to them to put the fatal bow-string around his neck. ftrangled.

Jousef was beloved. Not only the levantis, who ferved under him, but the janisfaries, spahis, and even the ulema, learned with indignation the captain bashaw's death. They assembled in the ftreets, even in the feraglio courts, and talked rather loudly of what was to be expected from a prince as fanguinary as effeminate. The grand vizier, who forefaw a mutiny, advised his mafter to change his residence. Ibrahim set out for The em-Adrianople; but as this was the first time that to Adriathe emperor had left his capital, it was customary nople, and returns athat he should make a present to the troops. gain pre-They tumultuously demanded it as soon as he arrived in his new residence. The prince pretended that this gratification was due, only when he took the field himself, and that as he was not going against the enemy, the janisfaries and spahis should have no augmentation of pay. This evafion was infufficient to fatisfy the foldiers; they were foon heard to murmur loudly. The grand feignior, whose avarice and uneafiness were both very great, returned to his capital, leaving this mutinous foldiery at Adrianople. The grand vizier, without ordering any public chaftifements, which might have endangered his authority, secured the ringleaders by night, and had them thrown into the fea. The malecontents, who perceived that their chiefs disappeared, grew VOL. III. 0 quiet,

J.C. 1647. quiet, for fear of disappearing in their turn; and Ibrahim, who had never appeared to concern himself about the Candian war but just when he put the unfortunate Jousef to death, no longer paid the least attention to the affairs of the empire, the whole management of which was left to the grand vizier.

The emperor's most ferious conferences were with an old concubine, whose charms were tarnished by age, whom Ibrahim employed to visit all the baths of Constantinople, even the private houses, to discover new beauties for him, which he might buy for gold, or wrest from their parents. Though his haram was filled with a thousand young flaves brought at a great expence from the extremities of the empire, his defires were not fatisfied. His wishes, accustomed to be anticipated, must be stirred up by difficulties. History of One day, Ibrahim's emissary of pleasures came to ter of the tell him, that she had met a young woman in a bath whose figure and mien equalled the regularity of her features. This perfect beauty was

> the only daughter of Regel, the grand mufri. The voluptuous monarch fent immediately for the chief of the law, and demanded of him his daughter with the eagerness of a young man who defires, and the authority of a despot that commands. Regel effendi loved his daughter above every thing; he represented to his master, that the most favorite sultanesses had never been taken but from the rank of flaves, fince the emperors

the daughmufti Regel.

had

had thought it beneath them to marry; and that J.C. 1647. Heg. 1057. the daughter of the grand mufti was never defigned to be a flave. Ibrahim, irritated by the difficulties, promifed to marry her, whether his defign was to keep his word, or only to gratify his passion by a perjury. The old man, who faw with grief the difficulties removed, thanked the emperor for the honor he did his daughter; but, like a good father, he made the confent of the young girl a condition of this union. On his return home, the musti reflected seriously on Ibrahim's inconftancy, and all his other vices, which daily exposed him to the fatal end which feveral of his predecessors had already experienced, who had not merited it so much. He thought the people would no more pardon Ibrahim for contracting a marriage than they had Othman II.; that this superficial prince, difgusted with his new spouse after the heat of his paffion should be over, would slight her, and perhaps condemn her to a flavery that would never end; that the emperor having already feveral male children, the princes that should be born of his daughter, could expect nothing but a perpetual imprisonment, or a premature death. These reflections determined the mufti not to represent to his daughter, docile to his orders and advice, the splendid alliance offered her, but as a danger which should be avoided at any rate, and he carried the emperor the answer which he had himself dictated, exposing himself to all his mas-Q2 VOL. III. ter's

J.C. 1647. ter's anger for the interest of his daughter. Ibrahim, afflicted at this obstacle, which he had not foreseen, nevertheless was not discouraged. He fent his old procurefs to the mufti's. In vain did this tempter fet forth to the young beauty the splendor and delights of a throne. The latter, convinced by her father's arguments of the impropriety of accepting the fultan's offer, perfitted in her refusal. All the fruit that the emperor's agent gained by her endeavours, was a diamond which the young woman gave her, conjuring her to leave her in peace, and to prevail on the fultan not to be displeased at her refusal. And indeed this woman, on her return to the feraglio, endeavoured to perfuade Ibrahim to think no more of what appeared to be impossible; but he was not to be thus discouraged. The mufti's daughter was fecured, as she was going to the bath accompanied by some slaves of her own fex only. She was dragged to the haram, and the emperor ravished this fair-one by the basest violence, whom neither the splendor of a throne, nor his prayers, nor his power, had been able to obtain. The daughter of the musti shewed her ravisher nothing but grief and hatred: she never faw the emperor without expressing to him the horror with which he inspired her. After some days, Ibrahim, defpairing to furmount her averfion; irritated likewise by the bitter reproaches. which he continually heard, and to which his ears were not accustomed, sent back this unhappy fair one

one to her father's house. The musti retained in J.C. 1647. his heart the strongest resentment of this affront; he refolved to be revenged the first opportunity, which was not long in presenting itself.

We have observed, that the grand vizier had J.C. 1648. caused several janissaries to be put to death in the night when Ibrahim left Adrianople, without trial or accusation, and without even any one's knowing the manner of their death, or by what authority they had been condemned. These nocturnal executions had at first spread terror: they prefently excited refentment. Those that lamented Revolution a father, a brother, or a friend, and who feared a which pulls down Ibra. fimilar lot for themselves, after having cursed in him from his throne private the feverity of the government, ventured to complain among themselves of this vizier, who, not contented with keeping back what belonged to the foldiers, to fatisfy the luxury of the emperor, fo cruelly punished just complaints. The attentive mufti heard these murmurs, and did not fail to encourage them. He affembled a great many malecontents at his house, under pretence of uniting all the mollas who were under his jurisdiction. He admitted some priests to this affembly, and all the foldiers that came to express their fear and hatred to him. When he was fure of a number of janissaries, the musti told them, that he was going to affemble the ulema in Ortadjami mosque; that they should bring their chiefs there, and even those of the spahis, as it was to be feared they would take part with the grand

J.C. 1648. grand vizier, if they were not consulted. It was

not against the grand vizier that the musti's refentment was ftrongest; but, as he knew the obstinacy and incapacity of Ibrahim, he hoped, with reason, that the latter would attempt to defend his minister, and so bring on his own downfal, The projected affembly took place the next morning at break of day. The number and quality of those that composed it, so terrified the grand vizier, that he was afraid to attempt to disperse the malecontents himself. Mehemet retired to the feraglio, where he implored the protection of his master; for he did not doubt but they aimed at him.* Ibrahim fent the bostangi pachi and the capiggi pachi, accompanied by fome of their people, with a catcherif to this affembly, which contained in fubstance, that all that were in Ortadjami mosque should leave it, and retire to their own houses to wait for the emperor's orders. The two officers were introduced into the mosque, but their retinue was not permitted to accompany them. After they had given the catcherif to the mufti, they received from him a fetfa, which profcribed the life of the grand vizier, and the precife terms of which required the emperor to fend the head of that tyrant, robber, and affaffin of the janissaries, to this assembly, which refused to separate before they had obtained the justice which

^{*} These particulars are taken from Naima effendi, sir Paul Ricaut, and the dispatches of Mr. Lahaye, at that time ambassad r from France to the Porte.

which they demanded. When the two officers J.C. 1648. Heg. 1058. of the feraglio reported to their master the musti's fetfa, they found Ibrahim intimidated, as he had just been informed that the janisfaries had shut all the gates of Constantinople. The emperor wrote that he consented to the deposition of Mehemet bashaw; that that minister might have deceived him; but that he would not put him to death, because he was his brother-in-law, and had done nothing but by his orders. This answer made the mufti fear that the janisfaries and spahis, satisfied with the deposition of the grand vizier, would separate. As he was determined not to miss his prey, he exclaimed, without waiting for the advice of the military and the effendis, that the emperor's proceeding was an evalion, and that they should be no woner separated, than the proscriptions and affaffinations would be recommenced; that Ibrahim must be constrained to do justice; and that, fince he did not name a new grand vizier, the affembly ought to name one, who should purfue the head of his predecessor. The mufti's friends were of the fame opinion: the spahi agasi, Murad, an old man of near eighty years of age, was named grand vizier. It was decided that all the effendis and officers affembled should march two and two to the feraglio; that the spahis and janissaries should be prevented from taking up arms, and that their officers should have nothing but their white sticks. The mufti had good reasons for acting in this manner; he hoped

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J.C. 1648 hoped to provoke Ibrahim to do some violence which might fet all the janissaries against him: and, in order thereto, he wished to have this prince, fo susceptible of being intimidated, believe that he had nothing to fear from a mutinous foldiery. The spahi agasi, the new grand vizier, went to the fultan, trembling at every step, accompanied by thirty deputies, fifteen of whom were effendis and fifteen military officers. He told the emperor, that it was against his will he had accepted the place of grand vizier; that he conjured his highness to grant the head of Mehemet to the ulema and the two most powerful military corps in the empire, who complained with reason against the injustice of that minister. The fultan, irritated at this suppliant voice, exclaimed: "Dog, it is thou that haft kindled the " fire of rebellion, in order to become grand vi-" zier: when it is extinguished, thou wilt know " what chastisement I reserve for thee." old man having attempted to reply, Ibrahim, unable to contain himself any longer, seized the grand vizier by the beard, and difgraced himself fo far as to strike him several blows. The deputies wrested Murad out of his hands, and retired in confusion to those of their party that waited for them in the lobby of the feraglio. Ibrahim's answer and behaviour had all the effect on the malecontents which the mufti had hoped for. They exclaimed, that an emperor fo unworthy of his rank should be deposed, and that there

there was no time to be lost to assemble the J.C. 1648. Whilst the officers of the spahis and ianisfaries were spreading themselves over the town to arm their odas, the mufti, the vizier Murad, and the two cadileskers, went and desired to fpeak with the valid fultaness. This princess appeared before them, covered with a veil, furrounded by the kislar agasi and some other black eunuchs carrying fans and pots filled with perfumes. These two great officers declared to her, that, if she would preserve her power, she must confent to her fon's being deposed; that this also was the only way to fave his life; that the feraglio would be invested within an hour; and that she must submit to circumstances, and prepare the timid flock of the feraglio, and the emperor himfelf, for his deposition, or be resolved to see a great deal of blood shed, and perhaps perish with her fon. The valid fultaness, who had not forgotten the emperor's menaces, when she had attempted to oppose his passion for one of the widows of Amurath IV. who also flattered herself with the principal authority under her grand-fon, a child of fix years old, the mother of whom was a young fultaness without credit or experience, after some feeble prayers, feemed to confent to what she could not prevent. Night was approaching: the troops, just affembled, blocked up the feraglio, and the malecontents agreed to complete their work at break of day. The grand vizier Murad, on his return to his own house, found his VOL. III. R pre-

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J.C. 1648. predecessor there, whose retreat had been discovered, and whom a detachment of spahis had brought him. Murad treated Mehemet with apparent pity; he even paid him some respect; and on the late vizier's earnestly begging of him his life, Murad replied, that nothing but a fincere declaration of all his effects could obtain it him, and he had him conducted to his own house with tapers, guarded by the fame troop which had brought him. . A very fhort time after, the defterdar arrived at the deposed grand vizier's, to feize all his effects and receive his declaration. It was with difficulty this officer could wrest it from Mehemet's mouth, who would fain referve part of his fortuue. When he had been constrained by repeated folicitations and menaces to strip himself entirely, he said, with tears in his eyes, that, if he were permitted to live, he was not left wherewithal to maintain himself. As he was endeavouring to repose himself on his bed, they came to take him from it before day by order of the grand vizier; and, as foon as he was in the lobby of his house, the officer who commanded the guard declared to him that he must die. was immediately strangled, and the first rays of the fun discovered to the people the head of Mehemet set up in the Hippodrom.

However, neither the hatred of the mufti nor the ardour of the malecontents was abated. foon as day appeared, all the ulema, the viziers of the arched roof or bashaws of the bench, and

the officers of the spahis and janissaries, repaired J.C. 1648. to the mosque of St. Sophia. The fight of Mehemet's head, only animated them more. The mufti laid before the affembly a striking picture of the misfortunes of the empire, the vices of its chief, his violences and depredations. He faid, that, though Amurath IV. had left the empire in the most flourishing state, in less than ten years the provinces had been ruined, the public treafury drained, the army discouraged, and the marine almost annihilated; that the Christians also had gotten possession of one part of Dalmatia; that the Venetian fleet blocked up the Dardanelles; that a numerous army, fent to the isle of Candia, was reduced almost to nothing; that all this was the work of one man, who shewed his power by injustices only, and who had undertaken to govern the state, merely to expose his profound incapacity. He mentioned the base manner in which the emperor had the day before treated the new vizier Murad, and concluded with faying, that they could not, without a crime, neglect the means of faving the empire. The grand vizier, who had arranged matters with the chief of the law, publicly proposed to him to grant a fetfa, which should cite this prince to appear before the affembly to give an account of his conduct. This fetfa was prefently prepared, and the aga of the janisfaries, accompanied by the two cadileskers, went with it to Ibrahim. All the janisfaries, who were drawn up in the Hippodrom, R 2 marched VOL. III.

1.C. 1648 marched towards the feraglio, and took poffefsession of the outer court. The odas pachis and other fuperior officers, entered into the fecond, and declared to the bostangis and capiggis assembled, that, if they made the least resistance, they should be all put to the sword. This timid soldiery, who had no great regard for the emperor, made no attempt to defend him. Ibrahim tore the fetfa to pieces, and threatened to have the mufti put to death; but the aga of the janisfaries having told him that it was his highness's life much more than the mufti's which was in danger, and that he was going to endeavour to obtain permission for him to end his days in prison, Ibrahim, whose whole rage was converted into terror, turned towards the icoglans and other officers of the feraglio who furrounded him, and faid: " Is there none of you whom I have loaded with fo many favors, who will venture his life for his mafter?" Ibrahim ran to the apartment of the valid fultaness, who declared to him that he must resign the empire.

Meanwhile the aga of the janissaries and the two cadileskers returned to St. Sophia's. On the report which they gave of their mission, the musti granted a new fetfa, which declared, that an emperor who had transgressed all the laws of the Alcoran, was an Infidel, and as fuch no longer deserved to command Mussulmen. After this decision, the whole assembly proceeded towards the feraglio. They passed between two rows of janisfaries:

janissariea: the spahis on horseback filled the J.C. 1648. Hippodrom and the other squares of Constantinople. On the arrival of the chiefs in the divan chamber, they ordered the black eunuchs to take Ibrahim from the women's apartment and bring him into their presence. This prince, obliged to appear before those whom he had in vain attempted to intimidate, descended to the humblest prayers, and reminded them of his favors; but the remembrance of his injustices was more recent. The mufti, who no longer regarded him but as the ravisher of his daughter, loaded him with reproaches; he had promifed the valid fultaness the day before to let him live, and all those, that had contributed to dethrone this prince, had agreed not to dip their hands in his blood. The mufti and the grand vizier made a fign to the icoglans to drag him to the prison which was already prepared for him. As foon as he had entered, the doors and windows were nailed up: nothing was left but a fmall opening by which meat was to be conveyed to him; fuch was the lot of him who had been one of the most powerful monarchs in the world. Some old flaves were shut up in the same prison to wait on him. Immediately the public criers spread themselves over Constantinople, publishing in the streets and from the tops of the minarets of the mosques, that Mahomet IV. was emperor of the East. They went for this prince in an apartment near the haram. Mahomet was not feven years old.

J.C. 1648. old. They conducted him to the divan chamber. When he was feated on the throne of his ancestors, the mufti proclaimed the new emperor aloud. He made a pathetic discourse to this prince on the duty of fovereigns; and informed him of the fate of some of his predecessors who had abused their power, in order to teach him that bad monarchs were chastised like the rest of mankind. The prince was then conducted to Jub mosque to have the fword of Othman girded on him. His tender age would not admit of his going on horseback; he went in an open litter amidst the acclamations of the people, who wished long life to their new emperor, and faw with pleafure the grand vizier on horseback near the sultan's litter.

This minister, proclaimed rather than chosen by the whole body of ulema, the spahis, and janissaries, was no way proper to govern an empire amidst the troubles of a minority. He had served with honor at the head of the spahis, and had justly merited to be a vizier of the arched roof, to which Amurath IV. had raised him, without his losing the command of the finest cavalry in the empire; but this minister was enseebled by age. The musti had proposed him to the troops, because he hoped to concentre the whole authority in himself, divided between an old man little formed for business, and a woman whom he supposed incapable of it. Tourhane, the mother of Mahomet, became valid sultaness by the accession

of her fon to the throne. She was much less J.C. 1648. touched with the misfortune of the prince who had made her fultaness, than pleased with the thought of reigning in the name of a child. But Kiosem had no intention of surrendering the reins of the empire to a young odalisk.

When the ceremony of the proclamation was over, the grand vizier and the mufti learned, by the kislar aga, that the whole seraglio was refounding with the cries of the unfortunate Ibrahim, who, from the bottom of his prison, demanded vengeance from Heaven, and implored the fuccours of those that he had loaded with favors. These loud complaints excited the compassion of all that heard them. Some even began to fay boldly, that the lot of the most powerful monarch in the world was fuch, that his late fervants had bitter reproaches to charge themselves with. The grand vizier and the mufti foon comprehended the danger they were in. resolved to stifle cries capable of awaking gratitude and exciting remorfe. Taking with them fome officers of the janisfaries, and several executioners, they proceeded to Ibrahim's dungeon. At first they were unable to enter it, as those that had shut up the unfortunate prince, had filled up the lock with melted lead, choosing that this place should be rather a tomb than a prison. They were obliged to make use of axes to break open the door. The noise which they made threw some hope into the heart of Ibrahim; he thought

J.C. 1648. thought for a moment that his cries had raised him up deliverers. But when, on the doors being forced, he perceived the implacable mufti and the grand vizier whom he had used so ill, his despair was at its height. He loaded with imprecations these two ministers and the kislar agasi, whom he called feveral times vipers and monsters of ingratitude. They had great difficulty to execute their design; for when they ordered the executioners to put the fatal bowstring around Ibrahim's neck, these wretches were so affected, that they fell at the prince's feet. The grand vizier and the mufti, who could not prevail on these slaves to lay hands on their fovereign, before whom they had trembled fo long, beat them feverely with their sticks, and caused the axes which had been made use of to break open the door to be lifted over their heads. By means of blows and threats, they constrained them to strangle Ibrahim, who, in this circumstance, would have faved his life perhaps, if his courage had feconded the repugnancy which the executioners shewed to lay violent hands on their emperor. Thus perished the feeble Ibrahim, the 17th of August, 1648, after a life of thirty-one years, and an ignominious reign of nine, which gave reason to fear the decline of the Ottoman empire.

Death of Thrahim.

.C. 1648.

MAHOMET

Wind Holde

NINETEENTH REIGN.

THOUGH the Turks had deposed and put The spahis to death feveral of their fovereigns, the discontent major part of them had a real respect for the murder of blood of their masters. It should be remembered Ibrahim. that even those that had pressed the deposition of fultan Othman II. had interested themselves in revenging his death. It was the fame when the fpahis learned that the grand vizier and the officers of the janisfaries had dipped their hands in the blood of Ibrahim. These troopers had remained in the outer courts of the feraglio, trusting to the janisfaries for the execution of the conspiracy. They saw with horror that they had been made, in some respects, accomplices in a crime which they would willingly have prevented. The spahis communicated their complaints to all that had any share in the government: every one was anxious to throw this crime on another. The cunning musti still found means to escape, though he was the real author of this murder. He foon perceived that the two valid fultanesses would not be able to live long in harmony. He refolved therefore to devote himself to the service of Kiosem, first, because her age, experience, and long acquaintance with business, VOL. III.

J.C. 1648. business, seemed likely to give the emperor's grand-mother the advantage over her competitor; and fecondly, because he observed that the grand vizier Murad bashaw, an accomplice like himself in the murder of Ibrahim, seemed to listen to Tourhane; that in consequence it would not be difficult to fet Kiosem against the prime minister, and persuade her to cause all the indignation of the spahis and people to fall on Murad bashaw, and sacrifice him to the manes of the emperor Ibrahim. The fpahis were the more animated against Murad, because that vizier had been their chief, and they would willingly wash their hands of the murder of their sovereign in presence of the whole empire. A march which Murad bashaw made towards Scutari, at the head of some odas of janissaries, with intention to disperfe some malecontents, completed his downfal. The mufti took advantage of his absence to demand loudly his punishment. He declared to fultaness Kiosem, that a civil war was inevitable, if it were not determined to fatisfy the spahis; that it being the custom of the Ottoman empire to give the mother of the fovereign an authority which she had enjoyed herself under two of her fons, the young Tourhane, aided by the prime minister, and sustained by the janissaries, would come to govern the empire during the infancy of her fon, if measures were not presently taken to deprive her of her supporters; that in fine, since a victim must be facrificed to the people, it was best

best to abandon to them an old fellow who would J.C. 1648. be foon incapable of rendering any fervice, and who was the original cause and real instrument of the murder which the Ottomans were determined to avenge. The grand vizier's death was resolved on; but as it would have been dangerous to go and demand his head, whilft he was furrounded by the janisfaries that he had marched to Scutari, the cadileskers were appointed to negociate an accommodation between the two military corps. It was as favorable for the janisfaries as they could expect. Those only were proscribed The musti that had broken open the door of Ibrahim's dun- caufes all the officers geon, and the executioners whom the vizier and and executhe musti had forced, by blows, to strangle their who were accomplimaster. These wretches were surprised in the ces in this murder to night, before they had time to defend themselves, be conand thrown into the fea in leather facks. It is even the easy to conceive the interest which the musti had zier, who is to haften, and at the fame time to conceal, their frangled. punishment, as they were the only witnesses of his having been an accomplice with the grand vizier. But Murad, on his return to Constantinople, had no fooner entered the feraglio to prefide at the divan, than he was presented with a fetfa of the mufti, which declared, that he, who had dipped his hands in the blood of his fovereign, deferved death. It was of no fervice to the unfortunate grand vizier to exclaim, that he, who condemned him, was his accomplice; the fetfa was confirmed by a catcherif of the grand feignior, and he was VOL. III. imme-

grand vi-

J.C. 1648. immediately strangled. They hastened his execution in order to stifle his clamours, and prevent his friends and the young valid fultaness from endeavouring to fave him. Murad's head was immediately thrown into the outer feraglio court. At this fight, there was fome commotion among the janissaries; but when their aga had spoken to them in the name of the emperor, and had intimated to them that the spilling of this minister's blood was likely to spare a great deal more, they were fatisfied, on being affured that there should be no more proscriptions.

fhaw is made grand vizier.

Sciaus ba- Sciaus bashaw, the premier vizier of the arched roof, who had been a long time governor of Natolia, was made grand vizier. However fond this new minister might be of peace, he could not hope for a continuance of it under an infant prince, between two military corps equally formidable, and greatly incenfed against each other, and still less between two sultanesses whose rights, or, at least, pretensions, were so contrary. The fultaness Tourhane sincerely regretted the vizier Murad, whom she had chosen for her guide. Sciaus resolved to pay his court to this young valid, flattering himfelf with more authority under the name of his master's mother, whose experience stood in need of a guide, than under the imperious Kiosem, who was less desirous of advice than instruments of her power. Kiosem knew in a few days that she must not depend on the new grand vizier. As she took upon her to dispose of feveral

several places, Sciaus, without regarding her or- J.C. 1648. Heg. 1058. ders, made use of the seals of the empire to diftribute the timars, and even the vacant fangia- fes the cates, to his creatures and those of the fultaness Kiosem. Tourhane. In the fort of anarchy inseparable from a minority, he, who was mafter of the feals, was stronger than all the other ministers together. Kiofem, irritated, fought support among the chiefs of the foldiery. She gained over Bectas, She conthe aga of the janissaries, by means of presents spires with the aga of and fine promifes, affuring him, that if he could the janifput Solyman, Mahomet's next brother, on the depose Mahomet IV. throne, she would make him grand vizier as ab- and set up Solyman. folute as Sciaus was. The mufti, who had al- J.C. 1649. ready destroyed one grand vizier, would not hazard his credit against a second. He let the cadileskers and the other men of the law lend their assistance to Kiosem's creatures, persuaded that he should become the arbitrator of the quarrel, and resolved to declare himself for the strongest. It was not without reason that Kiofem wanted to make Solyman emperor. This prince, who was fome months younger than Mahomet, had no mother; the affaky, who had brought him into the world, died foon after. Thus the grand-mother of this orphan would have had no one to dispute either the rank or authority of valid fultaness with her: she would have been able to flut up the ambitious Tourhane in the old feraglio, perhaps even condemn her to death, and free herfelf from those that had feized

.C. 1649. feized on the authority. The aga of the janissaries thought he had found a favorable occasion

for a revolution, by complaining loudly of the troops' having been paid with money in which there was a great deal of allay. The grand vizier, in order to dispel the storm, forbade more than three foldiers, or fix citizens, to walk together in the streets. In a few days, Sciaus thought himfelf in safety, as neither the spahis nor people had taken part in the complaints of the janisfaries. But one night, as he was buried in a profound fleep, he was fuddenly awaked and informed that a numerous affembly was in Ortadjami mosque, and that the janissaries had been met Numerous armed and dispersed in the streets. Sciaus got Ortadjami up with precipitation, put on his armour, and marched towards this rebellious affembly at the head of some guards called dellis, which accompany the grand vizier in public, less for his fecurity, than on account of the dignity of his place. Sciaus was no fooner discovered in the streets by the light of fome torches which the janisfaries carried, than the latter, who had had time to draw up in parties at each croffing, obliged the minister to continue his way to Ortadjami mosque, first by shutting the entrance to his house, and afterward that of all the streets through which he had passed. Sciaus perceived that it was neceffary for him to appear to follow voluntarily the road which he was obliged to keep. On his arrival at the door of the mosque, he met fe-

veral

affembly in mofque.

veral effendis, who invited him to place himself J.C. 1649. by the aga of the janissaries, who was sitting at The grand the upper end of this vast building, which was vizier is filled with armed men and burning torches. go there; Though the grand vizier was agitated, he re-bles. marked that neither of the cadileskers, nor viziers of the arched roof or bashaws of the bench, nor even any of the officers of the spahis, were in this affembly. Those that furrounded the aga of the janissaries, after his kiaia, or lieutenant of that corps, were only mollas, imans, and odas pachis. Bectas received the principal officer of the empire rather haughtily; he fcarcely yielded him the first place: and when he was seated, the aga of the janissaries told him, that this assembly of brave Ottomans was confidering of the means to restore order and confidence in the government, which a feeble odalisk was disposed to usurp; that fince the misfortunes of the empire constrained them to obey a child, it was at least necessary that those that reigned in the name of the infant, should be able to discharge the duties which his age rendered him incapable of; that a woman without experience was not defigned to govern the first empire in the world; that the allaying of . the money fufficiently demonstrated how much reason there was to fear depredations and disorders; and that the grand vizier must swear by the fword which he wore, by God, by the prophet, and by all those who composed the assembly, that from thenceforward he would acknowledge Soly-

man

J.C. 1649 man for the lawful emperor of the Ottomans, that he would contribute to place him on the throne, and that, at break of day, he would repair to the feraglio to proclaim the new monarch. and to shut up Mahomet and his mother in prifon. If the grand vizier had shewn his disapprobation of what he had just heard in the smallest manner, he would never have left this mosque. Believing himself authorised by the circumstance to dissemble, he approved of Bectas's discourse. He uttered a thousand imprecations against the young valid fultaness, adding, that, if a woman must have a share in the government, it were much better for that power to be given to fultaness Kiosem, whose age, experience, and proved talents, merited indeed fome confidence. clared, that his only reason for opposing asfemblies in the streets was to prevent the tumults of a blind populace, and give himself time to confult the chiefs of the ulema and different military corps. In fine, he promised, by the head of the prophet, to dispose every thing for bringing about the revolution at break of day, which was yet very distant, as it was then the middle of winter. The effendis and foldiers, charmed to hear these promises from the mouth even of Sciaus, did not doubt that they were fincere; and as they began to grow tumultuous, the vizier represented to them that it would be improper to make any noise 'till day-light; that he was going to convoke the musti, the viziers of the arched roof, and the chiefs

chiefs of the spahis; that the parties of janis- J.C. 1649. faries which he had met in the streets should remain quiet 'till then, as there was no occasion to excite a mutiny, when there was no refiftance likely to take place; that fo many foldiers, armed in the dead of the night, might commit depredations on the inhabitants; that these lighted torches, both in the streets and mosques, were good for nothing but to alarm the people and cause fires; that in fine, if it were not thought convenient to difarm the janisfaries (which in fact might be difficult, as they had left their odas), it was at least necessary to keep them quiet 'till they should be informed, as likewife all Constantinople, of the change which would prefently be effected. In this ingenious manner he engaged the odas pachis to go and put themselves at the head of their troops, and withdrew himself from their hands to repair instantly to the feraglio.

When the grand vizier arrived at the iron gate (it is thus they call that of the gardens), he was He repairs greatly surprised to find it open. The bostangis raglio. told him that it was by order of fultaness Kiosem. What measures The grand vizier instantly put a stop to this he takes to irregularity, great at all times, but particularly which he fo in the night. Having fent for the bostangi finds. pachi, who commands the guard on the outside of the feraglio, he feverely reproached him for having obeyed a woman, however high in dignity VOL. III. and

J.C. 1649: and power she might be, in what endangered the fafety of the emperor and the government of his haram. It was still worse, when, advancing towards the haram, Sciaus faw the doors likewife open, and perceived a great light in the apartment of fultaness Kiosem. He sent for the kislar agasi, or chief of the black eunuchs; and though that officer has little or nothing to do with the apartments of the valid fultanesses, who have a particular kislar agasi, nevertheless he ordered him to have the apartment of fultaness Kiosem shut, retain her prisoner, and have all her eunuchs put in chains; for, though these demi-men are to obey the fultanesses, the latter must obey them in their turn, when the shutting up of the haram, and the guarding of them from being feen, is in question. The old valid had a new guard of eunuchs appointed for her. The grand vizier, who well knew the moments to be precious, instantly named a new bostangi pachi, and ordered his troop to take their arms. He ordered the capiggis, baltagis, and icoglans, to be armed, whom they went to awake in the long galleries where they sleep. There is an arfenal in the inner part of the feraglio, which contains, besides some pieces of cannon, a quantity of muskets, pikes, and fwords. As foon as these disciplined young men had been told that they were to rife to defend the emperor's life, they ran to the arfenal, armed themselves, and then drew up in the inner - court

court of the feraglio, notwithstanding the night, J.C. 1649. Heg. 1059. which was illuminated by some torches only.

ing

Meanwhile the grand vizier, having charged the felictar aga, or fword-bearer, which is the officer of most consideration of those that live in the feraglio, to fee this vast edifice well shur, well guarded, and defended by pieces of artillery, as well on the fide next the land, as that next the fea; wrote an order to the spahi agasi to have his corps mount their horses, and to all the viziers of the arched roof, to come immediately by fea to the feraglio point, and to take as much provision in their faicks as they could find in their houses. He made the capi aga, or chief of the white eunuchs, conduct him into the room where the emperor flept, and ordered the kislar agasi to go and awake the young valid fultaness, and bring her veiled into her fon's chamber, where fhe prefently arrived. The murmur which refounded throughout the feraglio, notwithstanding the care of those who wished to stifle it; the light of the torches; the commotion of these new foldiers who were running to the posts assigned them; the fright painted on every face; and the imminent danger which all this indicated; terrified in an instant this young sultaness, who, mixing bitter tears with the cries of this child, repeated continually: "O my fon, we are dead!" The emperor of the East, whose most common titles are the thunder of God and the terror of the world, hid his head in his mother's bosom, and, squeez-T 2 YOL. III.

J.C. 1649. ing the hand of the grand vizier, cried: " Save " me, father, fave me!" Sciaus encouraged both the child and mother as much as he possibly could; and he thought it necessary to place the young emperor on his throne, in order that he might be feen by those who were to defend him. The prince faw, as he proceeded towards the place where this throne was, the dead bodies of the boftangi pachi and Kiofem's kiflar, who had been strangled, the one for having left the feraglio iron gate open during the night, the other for having made refistance against the kislar agasi of the haram, who had been fent to secure fultaness Kiosem. The fight of these two dead bodies increased the terror of the little prince. He was with difficulty made comprehend that these two perfidious officers had been sacrificed to his fafety. On his arrival in the room where the throne was, he found feveral viziers, bashaws, and cadileskers there, whom Sciaus's order had brought to the feraglio. They were all affembled foon. The grand vizier then informed the divan of what he had feen and heard in the beginning of the night in Ortadjami mosque. He expatiated on the risk that he had run, and on the necessity of preventing the impending danger of the grand feignior himself. He stated the unreafonableness and injustice of dethroning a child who could be reproached with nothing, in order to set up another child still younger. He demonstrated that it was the ministers of the young emperor

emperor that were aimed at, and that these vic- J.C. 1649tims, already profcribed, were those who composed the present assembly; that the chief of the conspiracy was Bectas the aga of the janissaries, who acted by the orders and policy of fultaness Kiosem, of whom he had continually spoken in Ortadiami mosque; and that the emperor's grandmother was burning with the defire of feeing herfelf fole valid fultaness. The grand vizier gave an account of the disorder in which he had found the feraglio; he added, that the ambitious Kiofem, not contented with usurping the authority, would fain free her fex from that falutary retirement fo much recommended by the law of Mahomet, and absolutely indispensable in order to live a fubmissive, regular life; that the violation of the laws of the feraglio merited death, and that a plot against the emperor's person, his mother, and all his council, should accelerate that punishment, as this conspiracy would break out- with the first rays of the sun. As soon as Sciaus had done speaking, a white eunuch, who had the place of master of the chamber, endeavoured to defend the conduct of Kiosem his protectres; but he had no fooner opened his lips and spoken a few words, than there arose a general clamour. The icoglans, who guarded the inner door, murmured all together, kill that traitor, and the bashaws made no attempt to prevent the tumult. Already had the baltagis lifted their battle axes, when the eunuch, falling precipitately on his knees,

J.C. 1649 knees, folicited time to remit his charge to the emperor. As foon as he had delivered the key of the fecret treasure, and a particular feal with which the mafter of the chamber feals the fecret dispatches of the fultan, the implacable baltagis cut this miserable being to pieces, whilft, kiffing the vest of the emperor, he begged with tears permission to defend himself. The blood spirted up on the emperor, who, being greatly terrified, descended from his throne to take refuge in the arms of the grand vizier. As the icoglans cried continually that Kiosem should be put to death, fome of them having perceived behind the gauze which covered the dangerous window a woman veiled, were perfuaded that it could be no other than that haughty fultaness who would dare appear, in a fimilar tumult, amidst fo many men in arms; they cried to those that were on the outfide: "Seize that guilty woman, fince " she comes of her own accord to throw herself " into our hands." Immediately this terrified woman, forgetting all the laws of the feraglio, undrew the gauze curtain, unveiled herfelf, and, shewing her face all bathed with tears, exclaimed: " I am not Kiosem, but the real valid sultaness, " the mother of his highness." Then descending with precipitation, she squeezed through the crowd, and ran to embrace the knees of her fon.

Meanwhile the day began to break; people came to fay that the spahis and janissaries were fighting in the city, and that the latter complained

plained of treachery, because they had found the J.C. 1649. feraglio shut, contrary to their expectation. The cannon were heard firing from the top of the walls. The defenders of the young emperor redoubled their clamours to obtain the head of Kiofem. The grand vizier and all his colleagues were of opinion that it was no longer possible to fave her from the punishment which she The mufti, though engaged in her merited. faction, took care how he undertook her defence: the example of the mafter of the chamber had kept him from declaring himself 'till then. He could not refuse a fetfa so earnestly demanded of him by the grand vizier, the valid fultaness, and all the divan. They wrote, "What should " be done to the grand-mother of the emperor. " who has conspired against her grand-son and " master?" The musti put under: "This wo-" man should be put to death." The grand vizier immediately drew up the death warrant, which the emperor trembled when he figned. It condemned sultaness Kiosem to be strangled, but ordered, that the respect due to the mother of emperors should be paid her body; and that it should neither be injured by blows nor the fword. This warrant was given to the icogians, which they raised over their heads as they proceeded in a troop towards the women's apartment. The black eunuchs, who guarded the doors, read this order on their knees, and confented to open to twenty icoglans only, the apart-

2. 1649 ment in which Kiosem was. Though it was already broad day, it was exceedingly dark within, because all the windows were stopped up. icoglans fearched feveral rooms, without finding any one but fome terrified flaves whom they permitted to escape. Their fearch was long, and would have been vain, if one of them had not persevered in searching a large press which appeared full of furniture. After having turned over every thing, he perceived the old fultaness hidden under some carpets; she said to him in a low voice: "Generous man, fave my life, and "I will make your fortune." But the Turk, having feized her by the heels, dragged her unmercifully out of the press. Kiosem got up and fcattered about the room a quantity of fequins which she had in her pocket, hoping to find a moment to escape whilft the icoglans should be earneftly engaged in picking up the money. But feveral of them having thrown her down, tore from her ears, hair, arms, and neck, diamonds

> and other stones of great value. the respect which they had been ordered to shew for the body of their master's grand-mother, they stripped her of a cloak of fable and all her rich clothes; and, having strangled her with difficulty, because none of them were accustomed tothat cruel office, they dragged her dead body, fcarcely covered with some rags, out of the haram to bury her.

> > Meanwhile

Meanwhile Bectas, the aga of the janissaries, J.C. 1649. Heg. 1059. who had trusted to the oaths which the grand vizier had made in Ortadjami mosque, and who had expected to find the feraglio open at break of day, and all the officers of the empire prepared by the prime minister to complete the revolution which he had begun, was overcome with indignation and furprise, when, the gates of the feraglio shut, the clamours which he heard within, and cannon fired against the troop which he commanded, informed him of what he called the treachery of Sciaus. Whilst he was preparing to unite all the odas which were marching at fome distance from him, and to re-assemble his council, the feraglio gates were fuddenly thrown open, and the standard of Mahomet, so respected by the Muffulmen, appeared furrounded by the effendis of the court; the bostangis, baltagis, and icoglans came out in order well armed, and filled the esplanade before the seraglio gate. We have faid that there had already been feveral skirmishes between some squadrons of spahis and some odas

of janissaries. Several of these last, out of the respect which every good Mussulman has for this standard, quitted Bectas to range themselves under the ensign of the prophet. The army of the seraglio having halted at some distance from the janissaries, whose ranks began to be consused; an icoglan, mounted on a superb horse, galloped towards them, crying: "By order of our in"vincible emperor, and our facred musti, he, vol. III.
"who

J.C. 1649. " who shall refuse to range himself under the

" banner of Mahomet, shall be considered as an "Infidel; his wife and children shall be enabled " to feize on his property, and feparate from " him." This horseman, on his arrival near the ranks, threw a paper to them which he held in his hand, and retired with the fame celerity. This was a writing figned by the emperor, and fealed with the feals of the empire; it contained as follows: " I have made Bectas, the aga of the " janisfaries, bashaw of Bosnia; Kara Chiavus " captain bashaw, and Kulkiaia bashaw of Te-" meswar. I order them instantly to leave their or posts in the janisfaries, to prepare for their " new appointments; and I appoint Kara Affan " Ogli aga of the janissaries." This declaration, read aloud, was a new pretext for the janisfaries to range themselves under the banner of Mahomet. Bectas and his two lieutenants Bad fucces faw themselves almost deserted: they received of the con- with chagrin the compliments of those who feigned to take their promotion to governments as a fort of amnesty. All three comprehended that the defign of the Porte was to take away their troops from them in order to facrifice them with more certainty. They mutually reproached each other with the imprudence that they had committed the preceding night in letting the grand vizier escape their hands; but as their troop diminished every instant, and there were no longer any more means of relistance, they determined

spiracy. The au . thors of it are put to death.

mined to retire each to his house. As soon as J.C. 1649. Heg. 1059. Bectas arrived there, he difguifed himself as an Albanian, and ran to hide himself in the cottage of a poor man. He was discovered there the next day, from whence he was dragged to the feraglio, and ftrangled. Kulkiaia collected all the riches that he had capable of being removed, and fled towards Albania. His treasure, with which he had loaded feveral mules, having difcovered the road which he had taken, he was purfued. On this he abandoned his baggage and his mules, in hopes to conceal his foot-steps; but the richness of his clothes, and the gold which he fcattered with too much profusion, made him suspected of being one of the Conftantinople conspirators. A sangiac refolved to arrest him; his resistance confirmed the fuspicion. Kulkiaia valiantly defended himself, and forced those, who made an attempt on his liberty, to take his life. As to Kara Chiavus, appointed captain bashaw, he was well convinced that the fecond place in the empire had never been feriously given him as a recompense for a conspiracy, whilst his accomplices were appointed to less important posts. He resolved to take refuge in a house which he had in Natolia, and to defend himself there with two hundred janissaries whom the many favors he had bestowed on them attached to his person. Four squadrons of spahis besieged him in this house, set fire to it, and stranged the master, whom they took living U2 amidst VOL. III.

J.C. 1649. amidst the slames. These three victims were almost the only ones thought necessary to be sacrificed to the young monarch's fafety. Some private janisfaries, more culpable than the rest, were thrown into the fea: after which the grand vizier published, that the grand seignior forgave those who, at first deceived by traitors, had fince ranged themselves under the standard of Mahomet. The minister, who had so usefully

ferved his mafter, by sparing, as much as he posfibly could, the blood of his subjects, met with

an end that he did not deferve. Some friends of those who had been put to death in the conspi-

racy, furprifed Sciaus one evening when he had

The grand but few people about his person, and poniarded perishes in him. These affassins had gotten a bark ready,

into which they had time to get and push off be-

fore the grand vizier's death was known.

J.C. 1650, Long trou-Ottoman empire.

vizier

The first years of Mahomet's minority were to 1657.
Heg. 1960, marked by all the diforders which might naturally be expected in a state that had not a master. bles in the Sir Paul Ricaut counts no less than fix viziers deposed or strangled in the course of seven years; he has not thought it worth while to tell us all Nothing is feen in this fort of their names. anarchy but a confused picture of the many crimes which impunity authorises; bashaws who revolt; janisfaries and spahis who slaughter one another for the fpoils of the chiefs whom they have proscribed; and the Turkish fleet beaten several times by that of the Venetians, who knew not

how

how to take advantage of fuch a favorable time J.C. 1650, to drive their enemies out of Candia. At length, Heg. 1060, amidst this multitude of events that succeeded one another fo rapidly, and which were all much alike, the valid fultaness quietly brought up the young emperor in the feraglio, and fent for her mother, who, though a Greek catholic, enjoyed at the court of her daughter all the advantages that a queen absolute and affectionate can procure her to whom she owes her life. This fact is the more remarkable, as it is thus far without example in the Turkish history. The state of flavery in which the women of the feraglio are brought up makes them absolutely forget those to whom they are indebted for their existence, whom often they have never known. Moreover, the Christian religion, which the mother of the valid fultaness professed, was an object that one should have thought would have kept her for ever from the haram. All these obstacles were furmounted by the will of the regent, who never shewed herself absolute but on this single occasion. This young fultaness had neither sufficient talents nor experience to remedy the many diforders that she saw; they ended as they began. The foldiers, who were not paid, and the people, who were continually oppressed, murmured at so many rapines. Though the spahis and janisfaries became more and more enemies, they agreed in demanding the chastisement of the grand vizier, of the caimacan, of the captain bashaw, of the

to 1068.

J.C. 1650, two defterdars, and of feveral custom-house offi-Heg. 1060, cers, accused of extortions. Tourhane by no means countenanced these rapines: the victims demanded by the malecontents were all abandoned to the bow-ftring. Twelve of the most considerable persons in the empire perished in this revolution. The event proved that all twelve were culpable. Immense sums were found in their posfession when their property was confiscated, with which the troops were paid, and the other debts of the empire discharged. This good administration at the end of all these troubles was owing to the new grand vizier who was put at the head of affairs.

Kiuperli, become grand vizier, removes the fpahis from Constantinople.

The valid fultaness, in concert with the viziers of the arched roof, chose the eldest of them to fill this important post. The old Mehemet Kiuperli, amidst the disorders which had troubled the empire, had passed through all the military degrees, without enriching himself or engaging in any faction. He had always been beloved and respected by the malecontents, as well as by those that remained faithful to their master. Kiuperli, at eighty years old, preserved a found judgment, a firm mind, and a perfect knowledge of mankind. He applied himself to the establishing of peace at home, and the rendering of the arms of the empire prosperous. Those, who had persuaded the valid sultaness to choose Kiuperli, were principally the felictar aga or fword-bearer, who had much credit with her, and the kislar agasi, who had advantageously served her in the last revolution.

lution, These two courtiers thought, that a mi- J.C. 1650, nister arrived at an extreme old age, and who had Heg. 1060, always affected great simplicity of manners, would govern as they would please to have him, and would be only a tool in their hands. Some hiftorians accuse Kiuperli of having made use of the fame artifice that pope Sixtus V. did to obtain the tiara: they fay that the favorites of the valid fultaness, and she herself, purposed to divide the government between them, which a feeble old man would be incapable of discharging. But they prefently found, by the authority which the new vizier assumed over the soldiery, that it was safest for them to conciliate favor of this minister, whom they had before confidered as the creature of their own raifing. The first act of Kiuperli's power was to separate the fpahis and janisfaries. These two corps together could only keep alive difcord in Constantinople, perpetuate the want of discipline, and cause the eastern throne to be in continual jeopardy. The grand vizier conducted himself with as much prudence as firmness; he fent for the chiefs of the spahis, and made them sensible that it was not only repugnant to public tranquility, for their troops to continue at Constantinople, but very difadvantageous for the officers and spahis, as the former, obliged to live at a distance from their timars, did not receive any thing like the profits that belonged to them, and the latter lived with difficulty on a small sum in the capital of an empire where affluence renders every thing much dearer

J.C. 1650, dearer than any where else. Kiuperli dispersed to 1657.

Heg. 1060, all the odas of spahis over the different provinces, to 1068.

observing to send each chief as near as possible to his timars. The desire of preserving these timars, and the hope of obtaining new ones, rendered these soldiers more docile, and made peaceable citizens of those who 'till then had been only factious ringleaders.

State of the Candian war.

The number of disorders that had happened prior to the ministry of Kiuperli, had prevented the war from being carried on with vigour either by land or sea, The Venetians, vanquishers in Bosnia, had driven the Turks back as far as Bagnialack, the capital of that province. The mifunderstanding between the chiefs had prevented them from driving the Ottomans out of the ifle But the latter, always masters of of Candia. Canea and Retimo, possessed no other conquest in that island. · Houssain bashaw, who commanded there for them, had received no reinforcement for more than four years. The Venetian fleet, having constantly occupied the passage of the Dardanelles in all feafons when the fea was navigable, had feveral times dispersed or taken transports carrying troops to Candia. At length the new captain bashaw, Mulei Mustapha had the address to get seventeen thousand men passed in feveral galleys and galeasses, and he conducted this fuccour to the port of Canea, where Houssain bashaw, with this reinforcement, and the troops which he drew from Canea and Retimo, composed

to 1068.

posed an army of more than forty thousand men, J.C. 1650, with which he laid fiege to Candia. Foscolo, who Heg. 1060, commanded for the Venetians throughout the island, and who had fixed his residence in the capital, would not leave it. The Turks had already been forced to raise the siege. The Venetian general, affifted by the advice and bravery of fixty knights of Malta, who were come to join him in Candia with a fuccour of fix hundred men, made a most vigorous resistance. He opposed the inconsiderate valour of the Turks with much prudence and great art; and after having destroyed more than half their army, by mines, against which the Ottomans were scarcely ever guarded, and by ruining their works, which were neither folid, nor at a sufficient diftance from the batteries, Houssain bashaw was obliged to raise the siege, lest he should not preferve troops enough for the defence of the country which he was in possession of. Meanwhile Mocenigo, the admiral of the republic, after having beaten the Ottoman fleet, entered the isles of Tenedos and Lemnos, which, though fmall, are the most fertile in the Archipelago.

These misfortunes gave the Venetians hopes Premier of an approaching peace. Mr. Lahaye, the overtures for peace. French ambassador at the Porte, received orders Taking of Tenedos & from his court to interpole in this negociation, Lemnos. and to carry fuch messages to the grand vizier as he should be defired to, either by the emprifoned ambaffador, or the fenate. Kiuperli, who

J.C. 1650, was not to be discouraged by the ill success of

to 1657. Was not to to the Ottoman arms, would hear of no accommodation, unless the Venetians surrendered the isle of Candia without referve. The Turks were thought to be without refources; but that power has very considerable ones. Its extent, the fertility of almost all the foil, and its commerce with Europe and Africa, conftantly furnish it with money and men, and the Turks have been often feen spring up again from their ashes. Kiuperli, who, in the few months that he had been minister, had feen a confiderable fleet beaten and dispersed in the Dardanelles, found means to provide another in the course of the same year. A fresh naval engagement, fought near the straits of the Dardanelles, would again have proved fatal to the Turks, who loft several vessels, if admiral Mocenigo, one of the greatest seamen that has appeared in Europe, had not been killed by a cannon ball. This lofs, irreparable for the Venetians, opened all the passages which the Turks wanted to recover. Tenedos was prefently retaken; but Lemnos, the coasts of which were more difficult of access, held out two months. The ramparts beaten down and the magazines emptied, at length forced the Venetians to furrender: the garrison of Lemnos, considerably diminished, obtained vessels to carry them to Candia.

J.C. 1658. The young emperor harming in Heg. 1068. his fourteenth year, Kiuperli thought it time to thew him to the troops, not only to inspire them

with

with the respect that they owed to their master, J.C. 1658. but to divert this prince from that effeminate, idle life, which had proved fo fatal to his predecessors. Kiuperli carries the The grand vizier had no thoughts of carrying his emperor to Adrianomaster to Candia; the Ottoman sleets were too un- ple, the fortunate for the emperor of the East to be exposed of the army. to the risk of a naval engagement. The old minister was willing to have this prince make his first campaign in Dalmatia, in order that he might be always near his frontiers. Kiuperli appointed the rendezvous of the troops at Adrianople, where the emperor repaired in the beginning of the year 1658. The grand vizier had fent for all the timarians of Asia, besides the janissaries that were not ferving in Candia, and all the asaps dispersed over Romania, as much because he thought it improper for the emperor to march without being attended by a numerous army, as because he had heard fome infurrections rumoured which he hoped to prevent by employing the foldiers, who were too much given to revolt. The march of Mahomet IV. towards Adrianople was made with all the pomp which the Ottomans never fail of displaying, whether in time of adversity or profperity. They had had no other fuccess than retaking Tenedos and Lemnos, lost a short time before, and the conquest of which had cost them almost two fleets. For thirteen years past they had made no other conquest in Candia than Retimo and Canea; the Venetians kept all the rest of the island. Nevertheless, Kiuperli offered X 2 VOL. III. peace

The Venetian ambaffador is dragged prisoner thither.

J.C. 1658. peace to this republic, provided they would give up the isle of Candia and one part of Dalmatia, which the emperor had attacked. The Venetian ambaffador had been dragged prisoner to Adrianople, to fee the powerful army affembling under the ramparts of the fecond city in the empire; and they haughtily offered him to spare the republic, if the Venetians would give up what they were on the point of wrefting from them and pay the expences of the war. The ambaffador was not in a fituation to attend to the grand vizier's propofals. The cruelty of the Turks, and the bad treatment which he had experienced in his captivity, had fo afflicted this minister, that he had made an attempt on his own life. Though he had been watched and prevented from executing this fatal defign, a languor remained on him which affected his reason. His secretary negociated in the name of the ambaffador; for no noble Venetian had been folicitous to come and lay himself at the mercy of these barbarians. Capello was not the only one who had to complain of the violation of the law of nations.

Infult offered the French ambaffador: how repaired.

Mr. Lahaye, the French ambassador, who, as we have faid, had been ordered by Lewis XIV. to negociate a peace between Venice and the Turks, had himfelf corresponded with the republic ever fince the infirmities of the noble Capello had rendered him incapable of attending to any kind of business. The propositions of the Turks were so unreasonable, that it was impos-

fible

fible for the French minister to approve them. J.C. 1658. Mr. Lahaye represented to the Venetians that they had every thing to expect from the intercession of Lewis XIV. and that his master would not negociate a difadvantageous peace for the Christians. All the dispatches of the French ambassador, as well as the answers from Venice, were written in a cypher agreed on. One of Mr. Lahaye's packets was treacherously intercepted, and carried to Adrianople, instead of being put on board a merchant-man. As foon as the grand vizier saw these incomprehensible cyphers, addressed to one of the senators of Venice of the privy council, he conceived a violent fuspicion, and dispatched a messenger to Mr. Lahaye, for him to come immediately to Adrianople, because the Porte had fecrets of great importance to communicate to him. The French ambassador was at that time obliged to keep his bed through a fit of the gout. He fent his fon to Adrianople, who, as well as himfelf, was intrufted with the fecrets of the embaffy, and had for feveral years past assisted him in his mission. Mr. Vantelet (that was the name of the ambassador's fon) was accompanied by his father's first fecretary, a precaution that he would never have taken had he mistrusted what was going to be required of him. As foon as he arrived, the grand vizier arrogantly told him that he must instantly decypher the dispatch which he shewed him from his father to the republic of Venice. Mr. Vantelet replied as haughtily,

J.C. 1658. haughtily, that he had no orders to receive from the prime minister of the Porte, and that the fecrets of the king of France ought not to be discovered. Kiuperli, irritated, replied, that every one who had intelligence with the enemies of his mafter, should be treated as an enemy. He again pressed Mr. Vantelet to decypher the dispatches. The latter thought to evade it, by faying that he had not the cypher; but the grand vizier ordered the fecretary of the French embaffy to be brought in, who had accompanied his mafter's fon as far as the antechamber. As foon as Mr. Vantelet saw him enter, he forbade him aloud to execute what was going to be required. of him. The druggerman of the Porte translated to Kiuperli the order which had just been given. The grand vizier, no longer able to contain himfelf, commanded the chiaus that had introduced Mr. Vantelet, to feize him and drag him instantly to a dungeon; which they executed with fo much brutality, that they broke one of his teeth. Mr. Vantelet was certainly not an ambassador, but he executed the functions of it for the moment, and was under the protection of his master. The fecretary, feeing this treatment, promifed to decypher the dispatch, if they would let him have it; but he had no fooner gotten it into his hands, than, after having written what he thought fit between the lines, he altered all the cyphers, lest the truth should be discovered by able deeypherers. The druggerman having again reported

ported what he confidered as a very treacherous J.C. 1658. act, the grand vizier ordered the fecretary to be put into another dungeon, equally obscure with that wherein they had shut up Mr. Vantelet. Two days after, he fent them both back to Constantinople, under a strong guard, with orders to the caimacan, who commanded in the capital, to block up the French palace, and retain the ambaffador and all his people prisoners there, permitting only the necessaries of life to be carried to them. Mr. Lahaye lost not a moment to give an account of this infult to the court of France. Lewis XIV. who could not believe that fuch an outrage would have been committed without great faults' having been done by those who represented him at the Porte, ordered Mr. Blondel, at that time his minister at Berlin, to go to Turkey in the same quality, first to examine into the conduct of the ambassador and his son, and afterward to demand vengeance for the infult which they had received. Mr. Blondel, after having refided a fhort time at Constantinople, went to Adrianople where the court was. When he had obtained an audience of the grand vizier, which he had been let folicit a long time, and in which Kiuperli, feated on a fofa, caufed only a stool to be given Mr. Blondel, this minister asked him at first if he were the French ambassador fent to fucceed him who had betrayed his truft, and where were his credentials. Mr. Blondel replied to the grand vizier, presenting them to him,

J.C. 1658. him, that he was not an ambassador, because the king his mafter would not have two at the Porte, and that he had not recalled Mr. Lahaye; that he, Mr. Blondel, a minister from France, was charged with demanding fatisfaction for the indign treatment which the ambaffador's fon, the ambaffador himfelf, and all his houshold had received, a treatment injurious to the crown of France, let the ambassador be ever so wrong. Mr. Blondel added that he had a letter from Lewis XIV. which he was to deliver to his highness. The grand vizier replied, that none but the ambaffadors of crowned heads were admitted to the honor of speaking to the great and invincible emperor of the East; that he, Blondel, not being invested with that character, could not expect that fignal favor; that besides, it would be easy to prove that the French ambassador had been guilty of a heinous piece of treachery, in writing to an enemy power, under the disguise of cyphers, things which neither he, nor his fon, nor even the fecretary of the embaffy, was willing that the ministers of the Porte should know. Mr. Blondel replied in vain that the duty of a mediator, fuch as the French ambaffador was, between the empire of Constantinople and the republic of Venice, obliged him to keep the fecrets of the belligerent powers, fo that he ought not to difclose to the fenate of Venice every thing the minister of the Porte might intrust to him, nor consequently to the minister of the Porte all the

overtures

overtures made him by the fenate of Venice; J.C. 1658. Heg. 1068. that as to the rest, the fault of an ambassador, in case he had committed one, should never expose him to be chastised by the power to which he was fent, but only by his mafter; that if Mr. Lahaye had behaved amis (which did not appear in any manner), the grand feignior's power extended no further than to defire the king of France to recall his ambassador. Your master then must recall his minister, replied Kiuperli, for most certainly we will treat no more with him. Mr. Blondel having infifted on feeing the grand feignior, in order to deliver him Lewis XIV.'s letter, Kiuperli repeated that he should not see him, and that, if he would have his mafter's letter reach his highness, he must give it to him. Lewis XIV. expressly demanded in this letter, that the grand vizier, who had violated the law of nations, should not only be deposed, but even punished with death, Mr. Blondel did not think it proper to deliver it to Kiuperli whose violence he knew. Having taken leave of the prime minister, he artfully founded the other great officers of the empire, to know if Kiuperli were fo abfolute, that neither the emperor nor the valid fultaness could be approached but by him. But, under a monarch of fourteen years old, whose mother had the good fense to be sensible of her profound incapacity for government, an active prime minister, courageous and clear fighted, could not be expected to have rivals. All the officers. VOL. IIF.

J.C. 1658. officers, even the viziers, whom Mr. Blondel would fain try, spoke to him of Kiuperli with that fort of respect which, among a despotic people, partakes more of fear than admiration. On the report which he made the court of France, Mr. Lahave received orders to return, and to leave the management of affairs to a French merchant. This order, which the grand vizier without doubt had not expected, obliged him, if not to change conduct, at least to endeavour to give Lewis XIV. some fort of satisfaction. He would by no means have France discontinue keeping an ambassador at the Porte, as the Musfulmen look upon the ministers of the Christian powers, when they have this respectable appointment, as much in the light of hostages as ambassadors. Moreover, it was not the policy of the Porte to quarrel with France, at that time the almost necessary enemy of the house of Auftria, with which the Turks were fo often at war. The grand vizier resolved to send a chiau to France, with the title of minister, as Mr. Blondel had had, who carried letters from the grand feignior and grand vizier, in which they claimed the ancient alliance between the two crowns, and expressed the sincere desire which his highness had to continue on good terms with the emperor of the French. These letters repeated the subjects of complaint which the Porte had had against Mr. Vantelet and Mr. Lahaye his father, and folicited another ambassador.

The Turks, not choosing to let Mr. Lahaye leave J.C. 1638. Conflantinople 'till he should be relieved by a minister in the same quality, had recourse to an expedient that again wounded the law of nations, but which they had employed feveral times against the ambassadors of crowned heads; this was to refuse to let him fail out of the port 'till his debts were paid, though the merchants of his nation offered to become bound for him. Every one knows that ambaffadors are not to be arrested under any pretence whatsoever by the powers to which they are fent; but the Turks have never paid any attention to this public law.

The Ottoman minister was received in France exactly as Mr. Blondel had been at Adrianople; that is to fay, he did not fee the king, and that Mr. Delionne, secretary of state for foreign affairs, affecting the fame superiority over him, as the grand vizier Kiuperli had shewn Mr. Blondel, gave him only a stool at his audience, whilst he himself sat in an elbow chair. The Turkish envoy endeavoured to excuse the grand vizier's conduct, averring that Kiuperli had information that Mr. Lahaye was endeavouring to raife up fome of the Italian powers against the Porte; that the bad treatment likewife, which Mr. Vantelet had received, was only a chastisement for feveral indifcreet expressions, which, coming from a man without any public character, might well pass for insolence, when addressed to the prime minister of a great monarch. In fine, the Turk

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YOL. III.

J.C. 1658. Turk infinuated, that the party being judge in this cause, the punishment of Kiuperli could not be obtained but from Kiuperli himself, who had the whole authority. Lewis XIV. had other things to do in Europe than to involve himself in a war with the Turks: besides, he was unwilling to lofe the commerce of the East, and he knew how advantageous it would be to have the Ottomans make a diversion, by attacking the house of Austria in Hungary, when he himself should be at war with that power. In short, his policy induced him to find Mr. Lahaye culpable, and to recall him; but the French court thought it right to appoint this same Mr. Vantelet ambasfador, the fon of Mr. Lahaye, who had been fo cruelly treated by the Turks. Kiuperli confented to receive him in the place of his father. Thus ended this quarrel, which was like to become ferious. We have gone a little out of the order of time in order to follow up all the circumstances.

the bashaw and on what occafion.

The too great feverity of old Kiuperli excited J.C. 1659. The too great severity of old Kiuperli excited Heg. 1069, many troubles. Several months after the em-Revolt of peror's going to Adrianople, the grand vizier, of Aleppo, under pretence that the march of the troops coming from Aleppo had been too flow and expensive, had their commander put to death. This officer was the brother-in-law and friend of Ibrahim, bashaw of Aleppo, who thought that the only way to ruin Kiuperli was to pull down from the throne the monarch in whose name this grand vizier exercifed such an absolute authority.

Ibrahim

Ibrahim had many friends in Asia; he pretended J.C. 1659. that a fon of Amurath IV. profcribed by the late & 1070emperor, had been hidden by his mother and He raifes concealed from the fearch of the executioners; up an importor to and a young man of an engaging figure, whom dispute the he shewed the people, was by many believed to with Mahomet IV. be their emperor. This pretended prince, already twenty years old, promifed to fill the throne fooner and with more fagacity than a thild. The bashaw Ibrahim undertook this revolution, without knowing how much Kiuperli was respected by the troops. The love of novelty procured him foldiers; in tefs than two months the rebel advanced into Asia at the head of forty thousand men. It was reported that the fophi was highly pleafed with the fable which the bashaw of Aleppo had given out; and that this prince, jealous of the greatness of the Ottomans, was happy to fee two rivals dispute with one another the throne of Constantinople. Kiuperli, who conceived of how much consequence it was that no time should be lost, prevailed on his master to march against these rebels, before he went to attack the enemy beyond the limits of the empire. The army intended against Dalmatia retook the road to Constantinople. Ibrahim bashaw had already fent parties as far as Scutari in the name of the emperor Bajazet, fon of Amurath IV. The particulars of the birth of this pretended prince, of his leaving the feraglio, of the care that had been taken of his infancy, and of the precau-

tions

Origin of

the impoftor.

J.C. 1659. tions made use of to convince people that he was & 1070. the same, gained credit, and every day procured him subjects. The fage Kiuperli neglected nothing to deftroy this illusion: he fent several eunuchs into Asia, who had served in the seraglio under Amurath IV.; they attested on oath that the only male child that this emperor had had, died almost as foon as it was born. Kiuperli found means likewise to discover the particulars of the birth and parentage of this man who, they faid, was the lawful heir to the eastern throne. This phantom of a monarch was the fon of a potter of the town of Rica in Ibrahim's bashawey. Ambition had driven him very early from his father's shop: he had learned to read and write of an iman of Aleppo, and had applied himself to the study of the Alcoran with the hopes of becoming an effendi. The grand vizier, by dint of application and money, discovered the relations of this false prince, and the people who were acquainted with the different adventures of his life. The proofs of this imposture which Kiuperli published, diverted a number of Musfulmen from the party of Bajazer, or rather that of Ibrahim; but the bashaw of Aleppo constantly supported his fultan, and found means to gain over whole bodies of spahis, by distributing to them the timars of his province and of the places

He affumes which he had made himself master of. The tugh the marks of royalty. or royal standard was carried before Bajazet; he

was furrounded, like the emperors, by great offi-

cers

cers of the empire: Ibrahim was, by a very just J.C. 1659. Heg. 1069, title, his grand vizier. The iman, with whom & 1070 Bajazet had been brought up, was made grand mufti. But, though his mother was still living, Ibrahim had not thought proper to give her the title of valid fultaness. This woman passed for the fultan's nurse only. The grand vizier Kiuperli having fent a chiau to Ibrahim to fummon him to return to his obedience, and to give over the criminal project of fetting up an emperor, the false vizier would have this chiau treated as an ambassador to the court of him whom he called his mafter. He had him admitted to an audience of the fultan; and when he was at the foot of the throne, Bajazet declared to this chiau, that Mahomet must resign him the sceptre which he unjustly retained; that one part of his subjects was already returned to their obedience, and that his arms would foon bring under his fubjection what he wanted of the patrimony of his forefathers. To all this pomp Ibrahim added letters to the grand vizier Kiuperli, and to Mahomet himfelf, feigning to lament the calamities that he forefaw, and exhorting them both to spare their own lives and the blood which was ready to be spilt. Kiuperli perceived that it was useless to negociate any longer. He marched the army, which was already arrived in Asia, towards Smyrna, and advised the grand seignior to affect great affability with the troops, as it might prove very useful to him in the contest. The army of the usurper advanced

Heg. 1069, advanced rapidly. The two mustis reciprocally his partifans, and the grand viziers threatened to fack all the towns that would not acknowledge their mafter. They foon prepared to make use of more destructive weapons. Kiuperli, who had feen a number of deferters from the army of Bajazet join the standard of their lawful master, thought at first the forces of the usurper much less than they really were. He sent on ten thoufand men before to exterminate the rebels entirely, as he faid. This corps was beaten by a superior army, The grand vizier, taught by this repulse, resolved to march against Bajazet with his whole army; and, taking advantage of the ardour of both parties, gave battle in presence of the young emperor Mahomet, to these rash men, who had the prefumption to wait for an army ten times stronger than their own. Bajazet and Ibrahim being defeated, as they fhould have expected, though their foldiers shewed much valour, fled to his bashaw. Alexandria in order to collect the broken remains of their party. Kiuperli regretted the time that he was lofing, and the Musfulman blood which he was conftrained to shed. He resolved to endeavour to put an end to this revolt by imposing How Kiu- on the rebels. He fent Morteza bashaw to Alexperses the andria to make proposals to Ibrahim. Kiuperli's remains of this party. emissary first gained over an oda of spahis, en-

nishes B2- camped at some distance from Alexandria. This

troop, in appearance in the service of the rebel,

promised

He beats Mahomet's troops.

He is beaten in his turn, and flees to Alexandria with

perli dif-

He pu-

jazet and

promised to deliver him up, on condition of a J.C. 1659. pardon for themselves from the lawful emperor. & 1070 Morteza, having dispatched a chiau to Ibrahim, fignified to him, that, being fent with advantageous propositions for his master and him, he would not enter the city, but that he would meet him at the head of feventeen men, which composed his whole escort. The false grand vizier, whose fortune was daily growing worse, thought it would be imprudent to refuse a peace which would fave the life of his phantom of a fultan, and furnish him perhaps with the means of repairing his losses, and of dismembering, in a more favorable time, the patrimony of the Ottomans. He repaired without mistrust to the appointed place, with as many men as Morteza had written him he should have, and almost without arms. The conference was no fooner begun in a shepherd's hut, where the two bashaws had alighted, than it was furrounded by more than two hundred horse. The small escort of the bashaw of Aleppo was loaded with irons without having made any refistance. Ibrahim, who had drawn his fword, chose rather to fell his life dearly than to prefent his neck to the fatal bowftring; he fell, covered with wounds, on the dead bodies of feveral fpahis. As foon as Ibrahim was dead, Morteza fent a manifesto, figned by fultan Mahomet and the grand vizier Kiuperli, to the city of Alexandria. This declaration contained all the proofs of Bajazet's imposition: he promifed VOL. III. Z

J.C. 1659. mised a recompense to those who should deliver & 1070. him the impostor, and a general amnesty to all the fubjects of the lawful fultan who should abandon the party of Bajazet. The Ottoman army, which was advancing towards Alexandria, gave great weight to the promises and menaces of Mahomet. As Morteza was preparing to begin the fiege, the gates were fuddenly thrown open. Bajazet's remaining troops advanced towards Mahomet's general without any other arms than white sticks, and delivered up this impostor, whom they had regarded as their mafter, the instrument and victim of the ambition of the bashaw of Aleppo. His head was cut off and carried to Constantinople, as likewise that of his grand vizier; and the people expressed great joy at feeing an end to a revolution, the beginning of which had given reason to fear a long and bloody intestine war. There still continued some troubles in Natolia during the remainder of the year 1659; but the vizier found means to extinguish these sparks of rebellion with much prudence and activity, always mixing firmness with clemency, and sparing human blood without neglecting to make the examples necessary for the maintenance of good order and public authority.

J.C. 1660. This internal peace was the Heg. 1071. empire that had two powerful enemies at once. This internal peace was very necessary for an Not only the republic of Venice covered the fea with its vessels, to prevent succours from being fent to Candia, where Hussain bashaw was sup-

porting

porting with a few troops the honor of his maf- J.C. 1660. ter's arms; but the grand feignior had likewife, in the person of George Ragotzki, prince of Troubles in Tran-Transylvania, a vassal who was secretly in alliance sylvania. with the enemies of the Porte, and threatened to Ragotzki. shake off all dependance. This George Ragotzki, an ambitious, active prince, had always been desirous of being elected king of Poland. He had feen with pain John Casimir obtain that crown; and, fince this competitor had poffeffed it, he had prevailed on him to confent that he, Ragotzki, should be elected his successor. The republic, jealous of their right of election, refused to anticipate the exercise of it, lest, from their kings' accustoming themselves to protect in their life time those whom they wished to reign after their death, the throne of Poland should insensibly become hereditary. The infurmountable difficulties which Ragotzki met with incenfed him fo much against the Poles, that he became their greatest enemy. He entered into an alliance with Charles Gustavus king of Sweden, who had already taken feveral Polish provinces, and he furnished him with a succour of thirty thousand Transylvanians, Walachians, or Moldavians; for the two waywodes of Walachia and Moldavia were closely allied by interest to Ragotzki. These news gave great umbrage to the Turks. Kiuperli, who began to fear the power of the Swedes, fince Charles Gustavus was at their head, fent orders to the vasfals of the empire, for them

J.C. 1660. to withdraw their troops, and observe the alliance that was between Poland and the grand The Walachians and Moldavians feignior. obeyed; but the haughty Transylvanian replied. that it was very possible for him to have friends or enemies independently of the Turks, and that his interest required his continuing in alliance with Sweden. He conducted his troops into Podolia ravaging and facking every thing that opposed his passage. Leopold, emperor of the West, took part with the Poles against Charles Gustavus, and the Porte ordered the Tartars to attack Ragotzki, who was no longer confidered but as a rebel. The ally of Charles Gustavus was beaten near Sandomir by the khan of the Tartars. On his return into his dominions, he found letters from Mahomet IV. addressed to the towns of Transylvania, which forbade them any longer to acknowledge Ragotzki for their prince, enjoining them on the contrary to elect immediately another fovereign, under the authority and favor of the Porte. The Transylvanians, as we have faid, had been beaten and dispersed; they did not dare oppose the will of the vanquisher. The states of Transylvania elected for master a gentleman called Francis Redai, who loved repose and a private life, as much as Ragotzki did war. But whilst Redai, the new prince of Transylvania, was living amidst his subjects as the most private among them, Ragotzki was strengthening his party and levying foldiers in Tran-

Transylvania. Kiuperli, who had his eyes every J.C. 1660. Heg. 1071. where, foon penetrated the defigns of the deposed prince. He ordered the bashaw of Buda to march with what troops he could collect from the different garrisons, and demand Janova of the Transylvanians, the strongest of their places, as a fecurity for their conduct, and a pledge of their fidelity. This act of hostility made Ragotzki throw off the mask. The commons of Transylvania affembled to hear the orders of the Porte. They replied, not by the mouth of Redai, but by that of Ragotzki, who refumed the fovereign authority, without the menaces of the Turks feeming to have any influence on their fuffrages, that the Ottoman emperor was their fovereign paramount, only to protect them, and not to be their destroyer, and that he had no right to invade their country. On this, Ali bashaw (that was the name of the governor of Buda) laid fiege to Waradin, which he took by affault in a few days; but Ragotzki having advanced against him at the head of ten thousand men, beat an army of more than double the number.

This fuccess stirred up the valour of the old J.C. 1661. grand vizier, who was preparing to conduct in Heg. 1072. person very considerable forces into Transylvania, the grand when death overtook him at Adrianople, where vizier Kinhe had perfuaded his mafter to fix his refidence. In fact, the deposition and murder of the emperor Ibrahim, and the frequent troubles in the first years of the minority of Mahomet IV. had convinced

3.C. 1661. vinced old Mehemet Kiuperli, that it would be prudent not to expose the emperor to revolutions, which could not be always foreseen. The foldiery was less numerous at Adrianople, and consequently much more submissive: moreover, the grand feignior's feraglio is better fortified there than at Constantinople, and much more secure against a mutiny. Whenever the young emperor was in his capital for any time, the grand vizier would always perfuade him to ride about a good deal, under pretence of taking the diversion of the chase, during which he would be out of the way of the janissaries. Mahomet accustomed himself fo much to this exercise, that he could not do without it; which afterward proved very injurious to the people that lived near his residence; for the manner of the Ottoman princes' hunting consists in bush-beatings which take up sometimes three or four and twenty miles of country. Thirty or forty thousand men are taken from their families and the cultivation of the land, to be employed in driving the game towards the emperor, without the prince's confidering himfelf obliged to make these wretches the least amends, whom he looks upon more like a portion of his domain than subjects.

> But to return to Kiuperli, this minister, having been attacked by a diforder, which, at eighty fix years of age, after a number of toils of every kind, convinced him that it would prove fatal, wished to transmit the place of grand vizier to a

fon that he had, who had great talents and ac- J.C. 1661. Heg. 1072. tivity. There was not a fingle precedent in the eaftern empire, of a fon's fucceeding his father as grand vizier. He, whom Kiuperli intended for the first place in this great empire, was but thirty two years of age, and was only a bashaw of two tails, which did not make him vizier of the arched roof. But the dying minister had fo many claims on the gratitude of the young emperor Mahomet, that he made no difficulty of foliciting the feals for him of his fubjects whom he believed most worthy of them. Kiuperli accompanied this request with feveral pieces of advice which he gave the young prince, on the necessity of punctually paying his troops, keeping them always dispersed, and so managing his expences that he should always have enough in his treafury to supply the exigencies of war, or other unforeseen events. The young prince was already capable of perceiving how much Kiuperli had been ferviceable to his authority. grand vizier's fon had had the talent of pleafing His fon his master. As soon as this faithful servant was succeeds dead, Mahomet IV. made Achmet Kiuperli grand vizier, as much through choice as gratitude. All those, who fancied that they had pretensions to this eminent post, and all their creatures, appeared greatly chagrined at this unprecedented proceeding. It was thought for some time that the promotion of Achmet would excite a revolt; but the new grand vizier, already as abfolute as

J.C. 1661. his father had been, attacked without hesitation those who seemed to menace him. Several bashaws of the bench or viziers of the arched roof. whose complaints had reached the grand vizier, were deposed and banished to the different islands of the Archipelago. The kiaia beg, or lieutenant of the aga of the janisfaries, talked loudly of revenging those of the proscribed bashaws for whom he had an affection. Agreeably to the privileges of his place, he could neither be put to death nor deposed, without the consent of the odas pachis. This officer received a commission from the grand feignior, which appointed him bashaw of Damascus; he immediately comprehended that his death was resolved on. His embarrassiment was the greater, because the refusal of a place is not permitted, and he remembered an old proverb which fays, that a kiaia beg out of place is like a fish out of water. In this extremity, he refolved to go and have an explanation with the grand vizier, remembering that the father of this minister, notwithstanding his great severity, had always been candid and a strict observer of his word. The kiaia beg, after having thanked Kiuperli for the government of Damascus, acknowledged to him, that he could not think he had meant to recompense a man who had not fought to diffemble his discontent. "If your " intention of making me quit my place of kiaia "beg", added he, "be only to take my life, I " can find means to frustrate your design. How-" ever,

" ever, I would rather throw myself on the can- J.C. 1661. "dour of him whom I believe my enemy, but of " whom I know the uprightness. I am come to " propose to you to give up both the place of "kiaia beg and the government of Damascus, " provided you will give me your word not to " make any attempt either on my liberty or life, " and that you will permit me to end my days in " a timar which shall be left me." This frankness pleased the grand vizier. He promised this kiaia beg all that he had asked, and faithfully kept his word. By this mixture of lenity and feverity, Kiuperli became foon as much respected as his father had been. The valid fultaness, who was not confulted as much as fhe wished, presently grew jealous of Kiuperli's authority. She made feveral attempts to fet her fon against him; but was foon obliged to conciliate the favor of this minister of whom she had declared herself the enemy. A Turkish historian assures us, that her only reason for giving up the project which she had conceived against Kiuperli was, because she was convinced that the grand vizier's mother was a forcerefs, and that her magical power over the mind of the grand feignior was more powerful than all human efforts.*

VOL. III.

Aa

Kiuperli's

^{*} Those, who may be astonished at the superstitious weakness of the Turkish women, should remember that in France, in a time not very distant from that which we are speaking of, marshaless Dancre was asked by the judges, by what magic charm she had sascinated the mind of the queen regent.

I.C. 1662. Heg. 1073.

Kiuperli's attention to government would not permit him to take the command of the troops. The first year of his ministry, he sent to Transylvania the forces which his father had proposed to conduct thither himself. Ali, bashaw of Buda. had the glory of vanquishing prince Ragotzki, in his turn, near Waradin, who had vanguished him the preceding year: this brave general died, two days after the battle, of the wounds which he Ragotzki. had received. Leopold, emperor of the West, who considered this province as a barrier between the Turks and him, resolved to sustain the party which Ragotzki had had there. He declared are named Kemini waywode, and he was proclaimed by a in Tran-fylvania by great many states. The Turks nominated Abassi, a Hungarian gentleman, and they fent forces to fupport him. This war, which became more and more violent, caused that of Candia to be neglected for a time. A defeat which happened in Transylvania, in which the waywode Kemini,

> who had been nominated by the emperor Leopold, was killed, induced the Turks to usurp this state. Abassi, to whom they had given it, foon perceived that he had been made waywode, only to oppose the choice of the emperor Leopold, and that the intention of the Turks was to make Transylvania a province of the Ottoman empire. And indeed the bashaw of Buda, who overran the province, exacted contributions from the towns, or left garrisons in them. Abaffi immediately wrote to the Porte to complain of the

> > treaties

Several waywodes

Death of

the empe-East and West.

treaties not being observed and of his expe- J.C. 1662. riencing nothing but oppression from those from whom he had expected fuccours. He represented, that all the towns of his territory were in the hands of the prince who demanded tribute from him, and that it was impossible for him to pay the fums required, as the country where he was to raife them was drained by the troops of the fovereign paramount. The affected flowness of the Porte caused this unfortunate province to be entirely ruined, as the waywode's envoy obtained no answer from the divan. In this extremity, Abaffi had recourse to his enemies; he wrote to the emperor of the West and the king of Poland, to represent to them the miserable state of a Christian country that ought to be a barrier for them against the Infidels, and which they abandoned to their rapacity. The king of Poland and the emperor meditated folely to fortify their frontiers. Count Serin, who commanded for the emperor on the confines of Hungary, garrifoned Clausenburg, Samosvivar, and all the places which feparate them from the Turks, and had a fort built near Kanisca, on their territory. This appeared to Kiuperli a more than fufficient motive for attacking the emperor of the West; but before he declared war, the fage vizier was willing to make the necessary preparations. He affembled provisions and ammunition from all parts, which he distributed in magazines in the European states; and, in order to cover his real VOL. III. Aa2 deligns,

J.C. 1662. defigns, he gave out that these preparations were against Dalmatia. He had several conferences with baron Goès, the emperor of the West's minister at the Porte, on the pretensions of his master to the sovereignty of Transylvania, and to treat, as he faid, of the means of making a folid peace between the two empires; but he fet this peace at fo high a price, that there was not the least appearance of its being possible to conclude it. Independently of the appointing of the waywode, Kiuperli infifted on having the fort which count Serin had built on his territory, given up to the Porte, and also liberty to place garrisons in Raab, Neuhausel, and several other places in Hungary; and he demanded likewise a considerable fum, to indemnify his mafter, as he faid, for the preparations of the war. Baron Goès replied, that Heaven and Earth would come together fooner than the emperor his mafter would confent to fign fuch a treaty.

Both prepare for

Meanwhile a number of foldiers were fent from Natolia, Caramania, Damascus, Aleppo, Arabia, Erzerum, and Bagdad. Barks were continually going from Scutari to Constantinople; and the road leading to Adrianople was covered with troops. The rendezvous of this numerous army was ordered at Sophia, for the month of April; and in the month of February the tughs, or horse-tails, were set up, before the divan door, as a fign of war.

Three

Three months having passed in thus marching J.C. 1662. Heg. 1073. troops to Sophia, the grand feignior and his minister, who had passed the winter at Constantinople, departed at the head of some odas of spahis and janisfaries, who were to follow the grand vizier to the army. The historian Ricaut, J.C. 1663. at that time fecretary to the English embassy, & 1074. gives us a magnificent description of these encampments, of which he was an eye witness, The tents of the grand feignior and grand vizier, and even those of the principal officers of the army, were lined with gold and filver stuffs. Their arms and the trappings of their horses were covered with gold and precious stones. pageantry of the Orientals, as we have already feveral times remarked, has greatly contributed to the reputation that they have acquired in Europe. But the effeminacy to which Mahomet feemed inclined to refign himfelf in the flower of his age did not feem to promife that he would be a great general. His vizier, more martial, left him The grand at Adrianople, furrounded by his mother, his wo- feignior goes to men, and some young men for whom the emperor Adrianoshewed an attachment already suspected by the the grand vizier grand vizier. Kiuperli, who both contemned and marches into Hunfeared this court, had the credit to make Musta-gary. pha his brother-in-law caimacan in his absence, whom he believed, like himfelf, full of good intentions, and who was afterward grand vizier. He had affifted him in a work, the fuccess of which greatly pleafed the people, and which was finished before

J.C. 1663. before the opening of the campaign. This was Heg. 1073.

a general recoinage of the money. Kiuperli and Mustapha were sensible of the necessity of having a more regular standard for the coin, principally on account of the commerce with foreigners. Though in open war, they sacrificed an imaginary wealth to this public good, which in sact originated in real indigence.

Meanwhile the court of Vienna was not fufficiently active to disperse the storm which threatened it. Whilft the Ottoman army was advancing towards the frontiers of Hungary, Leopold afsembled a diet at Ratisbon, to solicit succours, from the Germanick body, which he could not do without. The precautions of count Serin could not be expected to be fufficient against an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, all fresh and well disciplined. The slowness of their deliberations, and the clashing of different interests, caused the loss of much precious time to the emperor; but he had for the defence of Hungary the celebrated Montecuculli, whose experience and abilities were better than an army. able general's whole attention was employed, as he faid himfelf, in hiding from the enemy the fmall number of troops that were under his command, and in fecurely guarding the places which were confidered as the keys of Hungary. Montecuculli, whose army did not amount to twenty thousand men, would not take the field with thern: he continued in Raab, endeavouring to make

make foldiers of all the citizens in a situation to J.C. 1663. Heg. 1073, carry arms. He had recommended the fame & 1074. thing to the governors of Neuhausel, and the other towns in which he had distributed his little army, relying on the fortifications of these places, on his military skill, and on the course of the Danube, the passage of which he hoped to be always able to defend. The march of the Turks had been fo much retarded by continual rains, that the month of August was more than half over, when they appeared on the frontiers bordering on the Danube. The talents and renown of Montecuculli, and the fort of foldiers that he commanded, more formed to defend places than the Turks were to attack them, did not however feem fufficient to compensate for the advantage of a hundred and fifty thousand men over twenty thousand. Three places offered to Kiuperli on the banks of the Danube: Raab, Neuhausel, He resoves and Comorra. He resolved to begin with the to besiege attack of Neuhausel, where count Forgats com- felmanded. This officer having received intelligence that the Turks had thrown a bridge of boats over the river, and that four thousand men had but just reached the other side when the bridge broke down, the Austrian general, full of valour and zeal, conceived the project of taking these four thousand men, or of cutting them to pieces. He had in the town more than ten thoufand fighting men, foldiers and citizens. officers who commanded under him remonstrated

J.C. 1663. to their chief, that Montecuculli's orders were to & 1074. defend Neuhausel, and not to make war abroad. Forgats represented to them the advantage of one troop's attacking another weaker by half, in the middle of the night, and in the moment when the enemy, not being guarded, could neither know the number nor by whom they were charged. At length, after a relistance of twenty-four hours, Forgats prevailed on his officers, more through shame than conviction, to march with him. Eight thousand men followed the count in the beginning of the night, without matches drums, and in the most profound silence. a party of their arrival at fun rifing at the place where the four thousand Turks were encamped, they found them asleep as they had expected: The Turks, who had no fuspicion of having an army near them, kept a very negligent guard. Forgats's troops dispersed themselves in the tents before the guard of the camp had given the alarm. The eight thousand Germans had time to fatiate themselves with blood and booty; but their success was of very short duration. The Turkish army had advantageously employed the twenty fours hours loft by Forgats and his garrison. The bridge of boats had been repaired, and the Turks had paffed the Danube the day before, sufficiently late for the governor of Neuhausel to know nothing of it. Whilft the eight thousand Germans were flaughtering at their leifure the four thousand Turks that they had furprised, and

which

Count Forgats marches out of the place, maffacres the encmy, and his own army is maffacred in turn.

which then formed the advanced guard of the J.C. 1663. army, the troops of Kiuperli, awaked by the & 1074 noife, ranged themselves in battle, and extended their wings by the glimmer of the twilight. The Germans, furrounded in the moment when they were beginning to congratulate themselves on their victory, perceived they had no other resource left than to fell their lives dearly. The earth was foon covered with the dead of both parties; and when the eight thousand Germans were reduced to fourteen or fifteen hundred, they threw down their arms. Notwithstanding this submission, Kiuperli, hurried away by the carnage and his refentment at having so many of his foldiers killed by these brave fellows, ordered the slaughter to be continued; fo that a great number of these unfortunate men were massacred whilst on their knees, begging for mercy. This bloody massacre ftruck those who beheld it with horror, and even the murderers, who represented to Kiuperli, that this manner of making war was as dangerous as barbarous. The grand vizier, yielding to these remonstrances, put a stop to the butchery, after feveral hundreds of these victims had been flaughtered without defence. They raifed a pyramid on the field of battle composed of the heads of the Germans. Sir Paul Ricaut relates his having feen this monument of cruelty some years after. Forgats found means to fave himself from the carnage, at the head of some horse. He was received in Neuhausel with the VOL. III. Bb tears

186

J.C. 1663, tears and reproaches of those who demanded of & 1074. him an account of the blood of their relations and friends.

is invested.

The grand vizier made his approaches, furrounded the place, and opened the trenches. As his army was too numerous to be all employed around a town which was not very extensive, Kiuperli, perfuaded that he had more need of bravery than number, employed only his janiffaries and best infantry in the siege; and instead of difmounting the spahis and timarians, as had vage Au- often been practifed in important sieges, he formed them into different parties, and fent them to ravage Austria and Moravia. These plunderers desolated a fertile country, dragging the farmers. their wives, and children, into flavery, and butchering those whom the horror of captivity excited to make a feeble defence against force and cruelty. These scattered parties of troops appeared as far as the ramparts of Presburg and Vienna. Every thing had been collected in thefe places that could possibly be removed from the avidity of the Tartars and Turks; but the families of most .consideration were gone into other countries to put themselves in safety, as the diet of Ratisbon deferred raising a sufficient army to protect the dominions of the emperor.

Parties raftria and Moravia.

Kiuperli's fecret enemies endeavour to

Whilst Kiuperli was exerting himself against the enemies of his master, the secret enemies ruin him. which his authority had raifed him up at court were endeavouring to ruin him by intrigues

that

that he could not foresee. We have already J.C. 1663. remarked, that the young icoglans whom the em- & 107. peror had made his companions, had assumed by degrees more influence over him than all the women of his haram. One of them particularly, called Afan, whom he had made felictar aga or fword-bearer, was in the highest favor. beauties of his person and mind had so attached Mahomet to him, that the prince could not be happy without him. He admitted him to all his councils, and executed nothing without his approbation. Kiuperli, either through jealoufy, or a wish to have his master grant his confidence to those only that were worthy of ferving him, had feveral times advised Mahomet to give his favorite some Asiatic government. Afan aga, who clearly differend that they wanted to condemn him to an honorable exile, conceived the strongest aversion for the grand vizier. He eagerly received the complaints of the reis effendi, who was commissary to the army. This ambitious man was father-in-law to one of Kiuperli's lieutenants, called Ibrahim; and he entertained great hopes of obtaining the command of the army for his fon-in-law. He wrote frequently to the favorite of Mahomet IV. always observing that a general brought up in the cabinet was very improper to command an army; that the fiege of Neuhausel was on the point of being raifed through the incapacity of the grand vizier, who would only confume a fine army; and that he faw no one VOL. III. Bb 2 but

J.C. 1663. but Ibrahim aga, his fon-in-law, capable of faving \$ 1074. the empire from the disasters with which it was menaced. Young Afan aga, too confident in the ascendency which he had over his master. resolved to put his credit once more to the trial. He had already procured the deposition of almost all the officers of the feraglio, in order to fill their places with his creatures. He thought that a grand vizier, however necessary he might be, could not withstand the favorite of such a young, voluptuous prince as Mahomet IV. But. whether the emperor was tired of Asan aga, or the recent fervices of Kiuperli and the last advice of the old grand vizier his father were fresh in the fultan's memory, Mahomet heard only with indignation what the imprudent Asan aga had the prefumption to fay to him against his minifter; and, after having ordered him to hold his tongue, demanded the effendi's letter of him. The latter not having dared refuse it him, the grand feignior immediately fent a courier to his general, with this monument of the ingratitude of his creatures; for the reis effendi had been appointed by the old Kiuperli his father, and he himself had taken Ibrahim out of the timarians to make him his kiaia.

Taking of Neuhaufel.

The capitulation of Neuhausel had just been figned when the courier from the Porte arrived. Count Forgats had made a most vigorous defence, and repulfed feveral affaults. The ditches had been feveral times filled up with Turkish dead

dead bodies, and the besieged, notwithstanding J.C. 1663. the smallness of their number, had made several & 1074. fuccessful fallies. At length, after having the trenches open forty-three days, the Turkish army was reduced to fifteen thousand men, and the place made no appearance of furrendering, when the powder magazine fuddenly blew up, either through accident, or that the Turks had found means to corrupt some of the garrison. There was no more powder left than what each foldier carried about him. In this extremity the count thought it time to feek an honorable capitulation. As the Turks were not absolutely certain of the belieged's wanting ammunition, they durst not refuse either the franchises of the town, or the honors of war to those who had behaved fo bravely. All the citizens who had carried arms and defired to march out with the garrison were permitted to do it. Three thousand five hundred fighting men marched to Comorra, escorting fix hundred wounded, carried on litters.

As foon as Kiuperli faw himfelf quietly mafter How their of Neuhausel, he assembled a council of war, in impotent efforts are which the reis effendi and the kiaia Ibrahim his punished. fon-in-law appeared. He asked, with a tone of authority, if any of those who heard him could have flattered themselves with a more favorable fuccess; and if, with the resistance that the Germans had made, it would have been easy to take this strong place in less than forty-three days. As all the officers, the reis effendi, and even the

J.C. 1663. kiaia, were eager to congratulate Kiuperli on his fuccefs, and unceasing in their praise of his military talents; amidft these encomiums, the grand vizier drew out the letter which Mahomet had After having convicted his two enefent him. mies of ingratitude and perfidy, he caused the emperor's order for punishing them to be read, and both were instantly beheaded. The confifcation of the reis effendi's property brought a large fum into the public treasury.

Afan aga.

Difgrace of Very foon after, Asan aga himself experienced how little is to be depended upon the favor of princes. The fultan, grown weary of this favorite who had believed himself the terror of the greatest men in the empire, deprived him of the first place in the feraglio. Asan was made capiggi pachi: this post gave him authority over the porters of the feraglio only, without any opportunity of speaking to the monarch.

> But to return to the operations of the war, the loss of Neuhausel had discouraged the Austrians. They fancied they faw the enemy at the gates of Vienna. The fortifications of that place were repaired with all possible haste, and the neighbouring forests cut down, lest parties of Turks should shelter themselves therein. A general consternation reigned throughout the Western empire: the Austrians, not fatisfied with fecuring their frontiers, laboured to fortify all the places along the Danube as far as Lintz.

> > Lewentz,

Lewentz, Novigrad, and Nitra, furrendered J.C. 1663. almost without resistance. The latter was in a & 1074. fituation to hold out a long time, if the governor several had not been so earnest to capitulate to avoid an taken. affault. Montecuculli had him tried; and his cowardice was punished with death. The grand vizier was defirous likewife to attempt the fiege of Scinta, which he knew was the magazine of the Austrians for their arms and ammunition: but he met with a much stronger resistance from that place than from all the others. After hav- The fiege ing loft a month and more than fix thousand men raised. before that fortrefs, the advanced feafon of the year, and the fickness and discouragement of the troops, obliged him to go into winter quarters. The Ottomans flattered themselves with being foon in possession of Hungary and Austria, though they had been far from having made the most of the many advantages which fortune had thrown in their way.

Meanwhile the Germans, who had feen the J.C. 1664. mischief which the Ottoman army had done Heg. 1074. Hungary, and likewise what they had failed of doing, wrote to the emperor Leopold, that he must either send succours or expect to see the Turks mafters of Austria in a very short time. This prince's reprefentations to the diet were not unsuccessful. He obtained twenty-five thousand The empemen from the circles, under the command of ror Leopold obtains count Hohenloe. This little army went to Stiria fuccours. to join count Serin, who had raifed a great num-

J.C. 1664. ber of recruits in Hungary. The hatred of the Turks, and the dread of flavery, made every one take up arms who thought himself capable. A body of Austrians, commanded by count Strozzi, joined the two others. These three armies amounted together to more than fixty thousand men; but they had three chiefs independent of one another; and Montecuculli, who was more capable of commanding than all the reft, continued in his government of Raab: this proceeded from the jealoufy of count Serin, who was his equal in rank, and who took advantage of his favor, not to divide with fuch a formidable rival, the glory which he thought himself fure of acquiring with colleagues of little experience whom he supposed quite tractable. The project of the three generals was to begin the war in the depth of the winter, to ravage all the country, and to penetrate as far as Kanisca, which they reckoned they could make themselves masters of before the Turks should have thought of taking the field. Montecuculli being informed of their defign, fent to the council of war, that it was not politic to lay waste their own country, already very miserable, in a season when their was nothing useful to be reaped by the enemy; that burning places, pillaging barns and granaries, and destroying bridges and farms, would be much more fatal to the Hungarian farmers than to the Turkish foldiers; that this would be augmenting the calamities of war without reaping

any advantage from it; and that as to Kanisca, J.C. 1664. he well knew, it was not a place that could be \$1075. taken in the middle of winter. This fage advice was not attended to. The three generals began their operations with an agreement that was not of long duration. They took Brenitz in a very few days; after which, having marched as far as Five-Churches, ravaging and burning all the country, they loft a number of men and much time before that place, which they might have employed to more advantage elsewhere. Count Serin was bent on continuing this fiege; but Hohenloe and Strozzi infifted on laying fiege ment beto Kanisca, which was their principal object, and tween the commandthe place which they had written the emperor ers of the Leopold that they proposed conquering. Count troops. Serin was obliged to yield to the importunity of his two colleagues. They raifed the fiege of Five-Churches in the middle of February; but through the difagreement of the three generals, who had each an absolute power over his troops, and confequently an opportunity of preventing their being employed to advantage, Kanisca was not They uninvested by the end of March. A month had fiege of passed in vainly attempting to make an opening Kanisea, in the ramparts of Kanisca, when they learned it at the that the Ottoman army was approaching, to the month. number of ninety thousand men. The troops were greatly diminished and discouraged, and had but little confidence in their commanders. A scarcity began to be felt, and the disagreement VOL. III.

J.C. 1664. of the generals, who threw all the fault on each & 1075. other, flackened the operations, and feemed to foretell that a defeat was almost inevitable. No one choosing to be answerable for the event, the generals agreed in this fingle point, that it was necessary to raise the siege and take shelter in the fort of Serinswar. The emperor soon learned that this fort was attacked by the Turks, and that those, who had promised to drive the enemy back as far as Buda, were obliged to retreat themselves.

Montecuculli takes the command of the Auf-

In this extremity, Leopold wrote to Montecuculli, who was then at Vienna, to order him to take the command of the army. This genetrian army. ral hastened thither immediately, and the officers and foldiers instantly reassumed their confidence. Montecuculii perceived that the Turks were bent on taking Serinfwar; though he confidered that place as of little consequence, he wished to have it hold out some time, in order that his army might have some repose, and that the auxiliary troops might arrive, fuch as the fix thousand French which Lewis XIV. had fent under the marquis of Coligny, and ten thousand men commanded by the prince of Baden, raised with the money of pope Alexander VII. Montecuculli's the passage army being thus augmented, he abandoned Serinfwar, and encamped near the fording places of the Muer, in order to defend its passage.

of the Muer.

> Count Strozzi had been killed in the defence of Serinswar. Count Serin, enraged at the suc-

> > cess

cess of Montecuculli and the confidence with J.C. 1664. which he inspired the troops, had thought fit to & 1075. retire. Hohenloe was the only one that remained of the old commanders, obedient to a general more expert than himself, and contented to . ferve his country under his orders. The grand vizier, forced to give up his enterprise, after having loft both time and men, retreated towards Kanisca. Montecuculli, attentive to the motions of the Turks, marched his army to Saint-Godard, a post which equally covered Stiria and Austria. He paid the same attention to the defence of the river Raab, as he had to that of the river Muer, keeping always a ftrict eye on the motions of the enemy. He paid his fpies well, and was truly informed, not only of the enterprifes, but even of the defigns of the grand vizier. Kiuperli, after having attempted in vain for a fortnight to pass the Raab out of fight of the army, perceived that he had no other resource than open force, and that Battle of he must either vanquish or turn back. The lost by the grand vizier, who thought himself stronger than his enemy, undertook to pass the river in fight. The Austrians permitted fifteen thousand men to cross over without any opposition, after which they fell on them with great fury. The janiffaries and fpahis eagerly threw themselves into the river to come to the affiftance of their comrades. Every manœuvre was executed in the confederate army with the greatest order. Hun-Cc2 VOL. III. garians,

J.C. 1664. garians, Austrians, French, Italians, all obeyed 1075; with admirable promptitude and precision. The victory was a long time doubtful. Notwithstanding the efforts of the janisfaries and spahis. who shewed all the bravery that could be expected from them, they were at length obliged to give way to the efforts of the Austrians, and particularly to the talents of the general. The battle lasted from nine o'clock in the morning to four in the afternoon. Thirty thousand men, infantry and cavalry, who had not passed the river, were referved for a more favorable occasion. The disadvantage of a river behind the Ottoman army increased their loss considerably. One of the vizier's lieutenants had observed to him, before the action, how fatal fuch a position might become in case they should be obliged to retreat: " When " people are refolved to vanquish," replied Kiuperli, "they must not look behind them." The event demonstrated that this answer was more courageous than prudent. For two days after the action, the Raab was dyed with blood and covered with dead bodies. The lofs of the Turks was counted at twenty-one thousand men; that of the Imperialists at four thousand. This defeat was the more mortifying to Mahomet IV, as he had not entertained the least doubt of the victory; and the grand vizier having fent word to his mafter, an hour before the battle, that he was going to cut the enemy to pieces; on the faith of this prefumptuous promile

mise the grand seignior had ordered a dulema in J.C. 1664. Heg. 1074, Constantinople and Adrianople, a sort of sestival 2 1075. that lasts seven days, during which the streets are illuminated every evening, and the people have public and private seasts. This sestival was already begun; the second day, as they were illuminating the seraglio and the town an hour after sun-set, the news arrived that the battle was lost; that the grand vizier was retreating with the troops which had not had the time to pass the Raab, and with the broken remains of those that had been beaten.

A general consternation spread in Adrianople with the order to extinguish the illumination. It was fo great in the feraglio and even in the divan, that the ministers were incapable of advising Mahomet any thing but to endeavour to make a fpeedy peace. The caimacan, Mustapha, strongly supported this advice; he even wrote to Kiuperli, that the number of enemies which he had at the Porte, though intimidated by the example of the last favorite, refumed courage as foon as they heard that the army had been beaten. The little fuccess that he had had in his two campaigns convinced him of the necessity of concluding a peace as foon as possible. The waywodes of Moldavia and Walachia, who had been beaten with the grand vizier at Saint Godard, had just left him, as their foldiers and themselves were quite discouraged. Notwithstanding the menaces and intreaties which Kiuperli made these two tributaries

J.C. 1664 tributaries to oblige them to rejoin the broken

& 1075. remains of his army, the waywode of Walachia deferted to the Austrians, choosing rather to accept a moderate pension from the emperor of the West, than to expose with the Turks the dignity of potentate to deposition, or perhaps an ignominious death. The waywode of Moldavia excused his flight on account of the impossibility of recruiting the few troops escaped from the defeat of St. Godard. At length, as the Turks retreated, and the Austrians pressed them hard, Montecuculli came up with them near Scinta on the Waag, and was on the point of beating them a fecond time, when he received letters from the envoy at the Porte, who was retained prisoner in the grand vizier's camp. This minister informed him, that the Ottomans made cluded be- propositions for a peace, and that he would soon receive orders from Vienna to suspend all hostilities. These orders arrived in reality: all Europe was aftonished at the precipitation with which the emperor Leopold confented to a peace in which only the Hungarians were facrificed. Abaffi was acknowledged prince of Tranfylvania by Leopold as well as Mahomet. The towns of Waradin and Neuhausel were confirmed to the Turks, who had taken them. The emperor of the West recovered by this treaty the two provinces of Satmar and Saboli, which had been ceded to prince Ragotzki. It was likewise stipulated that he should have liberty to fortify Nitra, and

two empires.

and leave Austrian garrisons in all the Hungarian J.C. 1664. towns which had received them during the war. & 1075. This clause was quite contrary to the privileges of that kingdom; but the Turks had no interest to protect the Hungarians, and the house of Auftria had been thinking a long time, only how to fubjugate these people, whom it considered as too free. It was stipulated that Abassi should pay feventy-five thousand pounds sterling to the Turks for the expences of the war. Leopold furnished this sum; but the plenipotentiaries faved the western crown the humiliation of appearing to pay a tribute to the Infidels. This treaty was figned in the Turkish camp, and foon after confirmed in the feraglio of Adrianople. It was agreed that the two emperors should mutually fend one another ambaffadors and prefents.

The rejoicings which had been interrupted at Birth of a Adrianople were recommenced with the more Mahomet reason, because one of the odalisks of the seraglio determines was brought to bed of a prince. The joy of brothers to Mahomet IV. was contaminated by a fentiment of cruelty which 'till then he had not been thought capable of. He fancied that he ought to fecure the sceptre to himself, and likewise to his fon, by the death of his two brothers Solyman and Achmet. In order to difguise his crime under an appearance of justice, he folicited a fetfa of the mufti. The chief of the law had humanity enough to detest this crime, and sufficient courage to oppose it. The grand seignior having

J.C. 1664 having fent him by the selictar aga the following Heg. 1074, question, written with his own hand: "When

"the empire is well provided with princes of the Ottoman race in a direct line, is it not lawful, and even authorifed by different examinately, and even authorifed by different examination, and the function of its juices and nourishment, endanger the whole tree?" The mufti, without writing any thing at the bottom of this paper, though it is customary, and the order of the grand seignior prescribes it, went himself to the monarch, and, whether he succeeded in making him sensible of the barbarity of this design, or that he convinced him that the imperial race was not yet well secured by one sole infant just come into the world, Mahomet changed his mind, and told the bashaws of the bench, that he would have nothing done to his brothers. The valid sultaness, having gotten intelligence of

He changes his mind.

he would have nothing done to his brothers. The valid fultaness, having gotten intelligence of her eldest son's barbarous intention, was already sted to Constantinople with the two youngest, leaving at Adrianople a letter which reproached the emperor with his cruelty: thus the two victims were no longer in the seraglio when their brother resolved to spare them.

J.C. 1665. Heg.1076.

The grand vizier remained at Belgrade, as he would not appear at court 'till the German ambassador was arrived there to consirm the treaty. Neither the absence of Kiuperli, nor the faults with which he might have been reproached in the last war, had been able to diminish his credit.

The efforts which two bashaws had made to de- J.C. 1065. Heg. 1076. stroy the prime minister, having cost them their lives, the rest gave over all hopes of setting the fultan against him; and the union in which Kiuperli lived with his mother, who was come to the army to him, confirmed more and more the general opinion that this woman was a witch, and that her fon was folely indebted for the maintenance of his authority to the power of her enchantments. At length count Lesli, the ambaffador from the emperor of the West, having repaired to Buda in order to pass from thence to Adrianople, the grand vizier had no longer any reason for retarding his return. He arrived at the Porte some days before that minister, who brought the treaty. Mahomet would have Kiuperli make a triumphal entry into the place of his residence: several days were necessary to prepare this pageantry. During this interval, the grand vizier was privately introduced into the feraglio, where his mafter loaded him with all possible marks of esteem and satisfaction. A favorite, called Ali, had succeeded young Asan at court and in the affection of Mahomer. This young man taught by the misfortune of the last favorite, had resolved to pay Kiuperli the greatest respect, and not to meddle with any of the affairs of government, in order to reign in peace in the feraglio. He had gone out against Kiuperli several Return of days journey from Adrianople, and carried the the grand grand vizier rich presents from his master. After His entry into Adri-

Heg. 1076.

J.C. 1665. a rather short stay in the seraglio, Kiuperli returned to the troops which he had brought from Belgrade, then encamped near the town. He entered through the principal gate of Adrianople, at the head of the choice of his foldiers: he and his horse were covered with presents from the grand feignior; and those, who were chosen to ornament this fort of triumph, shared in the prince's liberalities. Though the grand vizier had been beaten by Montecuculli, the conclusion of this war was perfectly advantageous for the Porte, as they kept Waradin and Neuhausel, and had gotten themselves reimbursed great part of the expences of the war.

Entry of the German ambaifador.

Count Lesli, the ambassador from the emperor of the West, made his public entry into Adrianople, a very few days after that of the grand vizier. A bashaw of two tails had been sent to Leopold, with the same title and for the same purpose. Both these ministers of peace carried presents, and the ratification of the treaty, each to the power to which he was fent. The name of truce was given to this suspension of arms; but its duration was to be twenty years. Though it was not compatible with the dignity of the fultan to be present at the entrance of a Christian ambassador, Mahomet IV. would fain fee that of count Lesli, from a terrace where he stood among several bashaws. standing the precautions taken to keep this a fecret, the ambaffador of the western empire

pire knew that Mahomet IV. had honored his J.C. 1665. Heg. 1076. entry with his presence. He added to the prefents which he was charged to prefent to his highness from his court, a coach beautifully gilt, which he learned that the fultan had greatly admired. This liberality, feafonably made, procured count Lesli a vest of sable, at the audience which he had of Mahomet, instead of a simple caftan of filk, fuch as was given to the other ambassadors. The Germans derived advantage afterward from this polite behaviour of their minister.

Among the gentlemen that had followed the Treaty of the Gecount, was a noble Genoese called Durazzo. noese with It was thought that curiofity and the love of travelling had drawn him to Adrianople; but it was foon found that, without being invested with any character, he was charged to negociate with the Porte, for his republic, the privilege of trading with the Turks under their own flag. Mr. Lahaye-Vantelet, the French ambassador, was prefently warned of the defigns of the Genoese. It is well known that the French nation, as first ally of the Porte, has the privilege of lending its flag to those who have no particular treaties with the Turks, and confequently of making them contribute to the expences which the nation is obliged to be at. The new pretensions of the Genoese were very prejudicial to the French, as these republicans had, for several years past, had much correspondence in the different

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VOL. III.

J.C. 1665. ferent factories; and though they divided the products, which had formerly been parted between the French and Venetians only, the fole mafters of the commerce, the portion of the imposts which they bore, for the common and necessary expences, eased accordingly the French nation. Mr. Vantelet loudly demanded the observance of the treaties made with his master, and pretended that the Porte could not make any new commercial agreements with the Christian nations, without the express consent of the king of France. He threatened to retire and carry with him all the French confuls that resided in the different ports. But, whether the grand vizier remembered what had passed between the two fathers of Kiuperli and the ambassador, and with Mr. Lahaye-Vantelet himfelf, or (which is more likely) that the Porte were displeased with Lewis XIV. for having succoured Leopold in the last war, the remonstrances of the French ambaffador only haftened the conclusion of the treaty with Genoa. Lewis XIV., irritated at the little fuccess of his menaces, recalled his ambassador; but the policy of the Turks not permitting them to fuffer the departute of the Christian ministers, (hostages in their hands, and the chief instruments of a commerce which they cannot do without,) Kiuperli prevailed on his master to again dispatch an ambassador extraordinary to Lewis XIV. and he retained Mr. Vantelet under different pretences, 'till the latter was relieved by Mr. Denointel, whom the king of France was pleased

How ter. minated. pleased to send, on the express promise that the J.C. 1665. duties which 'till then had been at five per cent. should be reduced to three.

Meanwhile Kiuperli, who, on his arrival, had learned the attempt which his master had been going to make on the lives of his two brothers, the flight of the princes, and the terror of the valid fultaness, thought it prudent to bring the royal family together again. His influence over the mind of the fultan overcame the repugnance of that prince. The people had long wished his return to Constantinople; for that city, and all Afiatic Turkey, fuffered greatly from the emperor and the court's being at fo great a distance. But Mahomet no fooner faw himself within these Return of walls, where he remembered that his father had Mahomet to Conffanperished by the hands of those whom he had tinople; his occuraised to the highest dignities, and where he him- pations. felf had been constrained to facrifice his grandmother to his own fafety, than he would fain recover the liberty which he fancied he had loft. Under pretence of taking the diversions of the field, he went to the feraglio of Darud bashaw, a pleasure-house at some miles from Constantinople, belonging to the emperors. He fcarcely remained there more than the night, as he would be most of the day hunting in immense plains, which he caused to be surrounded by a number of peasants, stopping in any houses that fell in his way, and making free with them as his own, without ever thinking of paying for them, when they

J.C. 1665. they belonged to officers of the empire. He faid, that he, who held honors and favors of his prince, should think himself happy in being able to make him some return for the riches which he had received. Mahomet, who had flumbered on the throne from his infancy, was ignorant that justice is the furest guard of kings. Leaving the cares of government to an able minister, he had limited his own rights of fovereignty, to the privilege of fatisfying all his caprices; and though he seemed to dread the fate of his father, he let his subjects see that he was unworthy of governing them.

> However, Mahon et was reconciled for some time with his mother and brothers; he promifed them that they should live in peace, provided they would not go out of the feraglio again without his permission. Kiuperli, who wished to distipate the reports that were too much gotten abroad of the profcription of these princes, and to destroy the mistrust which they had had but too much reason to conceive, thought it improper for them to be removed from the capital.

J.C. 1666.

Meanwhile the war continued, or rather lin-Heg. 1077. gered, in the isle of Candia. For twenty years past the Ottomans had been in possession of Caneo and Retimo, without having made any new conquest, or the Venetians having been able to recover those two places. Some skirmishes now and then had neither gained nor loft any ground to either party. Kiuperli, who earnestly desired

to fignalize his ministry, resolved to complete the J.C. 1666. conquest of this island, by turning against the Venetians the forces which the peace with Germany left the Ottomans. But, whilft he was attentively employed in equipping a fleet and completing the troops, he learned, that a much more dangerous enemy than any of the Christian powers had appeared in Palestine.

This was the celebrated Jewish impostor, Sab- History of batai Sevi, who called himself the Messiah, and Sevi. announced to the Ifraelites, that the time was come when they were to be the masters of the world. Several fanatics had given out that a great many miracles would happen in the year 1666. Some Christians fancied they had read in the Apocalypse, that the return of the Jews to the true worship was fixed for this epoch. Sabbatai Sevi, one of the doctors of the Jewish law, thought he might make a hand of this prevailing error. He boldly declared himfelf the Messiah; and in order that the prophecies might appear to be accomplished in him, another doctor of the law, with whom he was agreed, undertook to be his forerunner. These two impostors engaged for feveral months, not only the attention of all the Jews that inhabited the eastern empire, but even of the bashaws, who, from the pretended miracles which were published, and the number of the new fectaries flocking to Jerusalem, had just reason to fear a revolution. Sabbatai Sevi, who was a most excellent logician, had started a number of

J.C. 1666. new opinions, which had at first raised his reputation, but which afterward had caused him to be expelled the fynagogue of Smyrna. visited all the towns where there were synagogues, and was every where admired for his profound knowledge and the aufterity of his life. Being arrived at Jerusalem, he there met another Iewish doctor, called Nathan, whom the conformity of talents, manners, and passions, united to him fo closely, that they agreed to take advantage of the credulity of the people, the enthusiasm of their fectaries, and the love which the ignorant part of mankind has for novelty. When they had meditated for a long time a project that tended to overturn the eastern empire, and which, in the heat of their ambition, gave them hopes of being able to deceive and govern the whole world, Sabbatai repaired to Gaza, where he began to preach in the synagogues, and even in the open fquares, that the world was near at an end, and that it was time to disarm God's wrath by repentance and change of manners; that Elias, whose coming was so much predicted in the Scriptures, was then announcing to the people of Jerusalem what were the intentions of the Almighty on all his creatures. Sabbatai was very eloquent in his language; his figure was noble, and the found of his voice penetrated to the heart. Whilst some sensible people were exclaiming against this novator at Gaza, they learned from Jerusalem that the pretended Elias

was talking there of Sabbatai as the fon of God, J.C. 1666. who was come to break the sceptres and overturn the thrones; and who, within a year, would order the Infidel Mahomet IV. to descend from his; that Sabbatai, after having published his mission and manifested his power, would disappear for feveral months from the face of the earth; that then his disciples, and all the co-operators in this holy work, would be persecuted; that a number of true Believers would fuffer martyrdom, but that, when this term should be expired, the Messiah would return mounted on a celestial lion, and that he should be then acknowledged for the fole monarch of the universe; that the holy temple would defcend at Jerusalem from Heaven, ready built and ornamented; that facrifices of expiation should be offered up there, which would be efficacious for all who should be willing to return to the true belief; and that, as the confummation of all things drew near, the Infidels as well as the true Believers had vet fufficient time and means to fanctify themselves. These prophecies were supported by letters addressed to Sabbatai Sevi, stiling him fon of God, Messiah, and sovereign of the world.

The pretended Messiah replied to these testimonies, by confirming the mission of his prophet and the truth of his words. He ordered several doctors of the law to be deposed, who had combated his opinions in the synagogues. He visited several towns in Palestine, apposing some-

VOL. III.

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times

J.C. 1666. times the zeal of those who wanted to follow him, lest he should not be able to nourish the abused multitude, whom the hopes of a speedy salvation induced to neglect their temporal affairs. The Jews, who, in all ages, have been the greediest of mankind, neglected their business to attend to the voice of their Messiah, his prophet, or those who preached in their name. Persuaded that Sabbatai could read the fecrets of the heart, a great many were folely taken up with purifying their consciences; but, as injustice takes all advantages, some would fain make this enthusiasm an excuse for not paying their debts, faying that when people's thoughts were folely occupied with the good things of Heaven, all earthly confiderations should cease; that as to commerce, obligations, and things perishable, they were matters no longer to be thought of; that time was about to end, and that neither filver nor gold was necessary to live in eternity. But Sabbatai was unwilling to have his fectaries reproached with rapine. He ordered, both in writing and by word of mouth, that all debts should be paid, and recommended honesty as the first step to falvation.

It was necessary to confirm by miracles a miffion which, as he faid, was perfectly supernatural. As Sabbatai was preaching at Damascus, some Jews complained to their king (for they no longer gave him any other title), that the officers of the tyrant Mahomet IV. were exacting from them a tax insupportable. The prophet repaired to the J.C. 1666. house of the cadi, and whilst he went to the apartment of the judge, the multitude that had accompanied him remained in the court and the lobby of the house, which was well heated and lighted, as one might expect the habitation of the richest and most considerable officer of Damascus to be in a winter evening. The populace cried that a column of fire shone between the cadi and the prophet; the greatest enthusiasts thought they faw it. Those, who were not in the house, confided in the general cry and the testimony of Sabbatai. The cadi, who had prefumed to refift the prophet, was found dead in his bed two days after. This supposed chastifement of Heaven converted a number of Muffulmen, and even Christians, to the faith of the false Messiah. No one had taken up arms; but the number of the fectaries increased so prodigiously, even in the places where Sabbatai had never been heard, and they published with fo much confidence that the power of the Ottoman house, which had been usurped for near four centuries, was to submit to that of the fon of God, that Kiuperli thought it high time to put a stop to this dangerous imposture. Without fending troops against the false prophet, who employed no other forces than those of persuasion, he refolved to entice him to Constantinople, where his mission ought to end, as he had predicted that the tyrant would descend from the throne at his Ee2 voice. VOL. III.

J.C. 1666 voice. The forerunner Nathan had already preached at Constantinople, and the number of his profelytes feemed to require Sabbatai Sevi to come and shew himself to so many new subjects, who, fometimes, in their cups, (for these sectaries drank freely of wine) fancied they faw their Messiah, their Saviour, the son of God, the king of Earth and Heaven: they addressed prayers to him, and ran into the streets and public squares, finging hymns in his praise. Kiuperli, who, as we have faid, wished to see the new Messiah at Constantinople, employed, to draw him thither, one of the doctors of the Jewish law whom Sabbatai had deposed, and who had treacherously recovered his favor in hopes to ruin him; this was a Pole called Nehemiah Cohan: he went in fearch of Sabbatai Sevi at Smyrna, to inform him of the progress which Nathan and his companions had made at Constantinople, affuring him that he had only to appear there to make Mahomet IV., already intimidated and almost converted, defcend from his throne. Sabbatai embarked in a faick, followed by a few of his disciples only; for his plan of conduct was to employ no physical power, and to make but little shew, in order to present a greater contrast between the state which he had left and that which he aspired at, and to convince mankind that they are all on a level before the Divinity. As foon as Kiuperli was informed of this embarcation, he fent two ships of war to lay wait for the prophet in his passage.

passage. Neither he nor his followers had ex- J.C. 1666. Heg. 1077pected a battle; the Messiah was secured without difficulty, and conducted to the public prisons of Constantinople. This misfortune no way diminished the number of his proselytes; for Sabbatai had taken the precaution to announce, that he should undoubtedly experience perfecutions very foon, and that he should be even forced for a time from the fight of the true Believers. As the Turks will do any thing for money, those, who wished to see the envoy of God in irons, purchased permission. Sabbatai's prison was never empty, and the most zealous of those who went to fee him published miracles of him, whether they had been imposed on, or that they wished to put themselves forward in the sect. Nathan had left Constantinople as foon as he heard of his master's imprisonment. "It was " necessary," he said, " for the advantage of " the truth, that the Messiah and his prophet " should inhabit different places." One can fcarcely comprehend how the emperor and hisvizier, who had not been fo sparing of human blood always, did not extinguish in that of these two impostors the sparks of a rebellion which threatened to blaze forth. The minister, who had not yet taken the field, having learned that Sabbatai still continued to make converts, that he prescribed a new worship, and spread seditious writings among the people, had him conveyed to one of the castles of the Dardanelles, in order

J.C. 1666. to prevent his being furrounded by fuch a concourse of people. But these difficulties only increafed their zeal. As foon as the grand vizier had embarked for the isle of Candia, and the fultan, following his inclination, had returned to Adrianople, the disciples of the Messiah had such numerous and frequent affemblies at Constantinople, and the castle of the Dardanelles was every day furrounded by fo many people, who continually talked of refusing the tyrant his tribute, that, though they were without arms, the caimacan dreaded the consequences. Mustapha (that was the name of the caimacan of Constantinople) wrote the grand seignior, that it was high time to put a stop to these proceedings, which threatened to overturn the fovereign power; that Sabbatai Sevi, though difarmed, was growing more dangerous than a rebel at the head of an army. On the receipt of this letter, Mahomet ordered that Sabbatai Sevi should be brought before him. His disciples never thought of refcuing him on the way; they only made use of fervent prayers against what they called perfecution. Full of confidence in the power of their Messiah, they expected all the miracles that he had promifed them. Sabbatai was conducted to Adrianople; the road was covered with men, who proftrated themselves before him, and strewed the ground with palm-branches and flowers. The crowd of those who believed him to be the fon of God awaited Sabbatai's manifesting his power, power, with the confidence of fanatics inspired J.C. 1666. by illusion. The impostor fed this credulity with forcible arguments, and fuch an apparent tranquility, that he was admired even by those who did not believe in him; but this premature triumph was but of short duration. Sabbatai was no fooner arrived at Adrianople, than the fultan had him brought before him. The fplendor of Mahomet's throne and the presence of the monarch almost rendered the prophet speechless. The prince having spoken to him in Turkish, Sabbatai declared that that language was not familiar to him; that he understood and spoke it so badly, that he must beg to have an interpreter. They fent for a physician, who, from a Jew, had turned Mahometan, and who understood the bad Greek mixed with Arabic spoken at Smyrna. Mahomet smiled at hearing the son of God confess that he had not the gift of tongues, and remarked it to all the divan who flood around; but when Sabbatai had declared, by the voice of his truchman, that he was the Messiah bestowed on the chosen people, to re-establish them in their pre-eminence and make them reign over all the globe, that the throne on which Mahomet was fitting belonged to him, that the universe was his patrimony, and that all the earth was under the controul of his voice, the fultan declared to him, that he was ready to acknowledge his divinity, if he would immediately manifest it by a miracle, and that he was going to furnish

J.C. 1666. furnish him with an occasion for doing it. Having ordered the Messiah to be stripped, he was fastened to a pillar in the inner court of the seraglio. All the icoglans prepared to shoot arrows at him at a moderate distance. "If thou be the " fon of God," faid the emperor to him, " thy body will be proof against the darts that they " are going to shoot at thee; then I will yield " up my throne to thee and become thy disciple; " if thou art only an impostor, thou shalt receive the reward of thy audacity and knavery." This order was a clap of thunder for the Messiah; all his resolution forsook him, and he acknowledged, with tears in his eyes, that he had imposed on the credulity of the people. confession was insufficient to save his life, as he had flattered himself it would. He was told that he was going to be instantly empaled, unless he embraced the Mahometan faith. He, who had renounced his divinity to fave himself from the arrows of the icoglans, could not be expected to make much difficulty of embracing Islamism to avoid the torments with which he was threatened. What is most astonishing is, that the public retraction of this impostor did not instantly disperse his fest. Though the Jews of Adrianople were covered with shame and grieved to the very heart, those of Smyrna and other Asiatic countries conflantly followed the forerunner Nathan, who gave out, that the pretended imposture of Sabbatai was only a trick of the demon which had taken the fhape

shape of the son of God; others afferted that all J.C. 1066. those, who had been concerned in conducting the Messiah to Adrianople, had been struck dead, and that the son of God had brought them to life again by his infinite goodness. In sine, Nathan and his enthusiasts for several months exerted all their efforts to contradict what had passed at Adrianople; but Sabbatai began to preach for the Mussulman religion, with as much zeal as he had done for his own, saying that God, who had permitted him to be the instrument of an imposture, was pleased to make use of him to consute it. Nathan was soon obliged to take to slight. His disciples diminished every year, and time dispersed all these clouds.

The diforders which Sabbatai Sevi had caufed in the empire, had not deterred Kiuperli from his defign of conducting in person great forces into the isle of Candia, to endeavour to terminate the war which had lingered fo long between the Porte and the Venetians. The rendezvous of this numerous and brilliant army was ordered at Thebes, where the odas of janissaries, the topggis, levantis, and timarians, repaired to the number of more than a hundred thousand fighting men. The grand vizier, before he put to fea, fent for the Venetian agent to the place of rendezvous to make new proposals of peace to him. This minister, who had been secretary to the last ambassador, who died in captivity as we have already related, died himself on his way WOL. III. from

Heg. 1077.

J.C. 1666. from Constantinople to Thebes: he, who acted as fecretary to the Venetian ambassador, not being charged with any power, defired time to write to the republic and receive new orders. In this interval the Ottoman forces put Heg. 1077, to sea from Malvasia in the spring of the year & 1078.

The grand army to beliege Candia.

1667. The fleet was fo large, that the Venetians vizier goes did not think themselves strong enough to difwith a con-fiderable pute the passage. The proveditor Morosini, who acted as viceroy of Candia, and the marquis of Ville, a Piedmontese, who commanded the troops there, had made fo many new fortifications, that the port was become absolutely inaccessible. They had procured for the defence of this important place a great number of volunteers of all nations, and particularly French, whom the peace which reigned in Europe invited to feek glory against the Infidels. The Order of Malta fent feveral galleys to Candia, carrying a great number of knights and foldiers. Lewis XIV. granted the Venetians a fuccour of feven thousand men; the duke of Beaufort, admiral of France, conducted them in person. The land forces were commanded by the duke of Navailles. We find a number of illustrious names among more than a thousand French noblemen and gentlemen who would fain take part in the perils of this siege, fuch as Dailly, Montbrun, d'Harcourt, Langeron, Montaufier, Choiseuil, Caderousse, Villemore, Château-Thierry, Saint-Pol, Novion, de Trefme, &c. The duke of Lafeuillade put himself at the

the head of two hundred gentlemen, whom he J.C. 1667. conducted thither and kept at his own expence. & 1078 The Candian war has been compared to that of Troy: it resembles it in its length, and in the obstinacy of the last siege, which lasted two years and fome months, and was one of the most bloody mentioned in history. The Venetians had carried the art of mines to its utmost height, and fome excellent engineers had had time to fecure the weak places. As the port of Candia was quite open, the town was fuccoured by numbers of volunteers, who arrived from all parts, and by all forts of provisions and ammunition, which the republic, the pope, and the other Italian powers, fent in abundance. The bravery of the Turks, who furrounded the town on every fide, forced the garrison to a continual defence, but could not famish it. Whole battalions of janisfaries, topggis, and levantis, after having fucceeded in affaults very bloody on both fides, were blown up by a mine on the work which they had just conquered. New intrenchments were raifed almost suddenly behind the heaps of stones; Candia seemed to spring up anew from its ashes. Whilst they were in the heat of the first attacks, the secretary of the Venetian embaffy, called Javarina, who had received powers from his republic to go and treat with the grand vizier, arrived in a faick in one of the ports which the Turks occupied; he fent to defire a fecurity for his person, and obtained it prior to

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YOL. III.

.C. 1667. his entering. His arrival made them believe that he had brought proposals for a peace. The fire was stopped on both sides for some hours; but this new minister having no other instructions from his mafters than to hear the propositions of the Turks, to fend home an account of them, and to endeavour to bear with patience and resolution the bad treatment which he might experience, hostilities were recommenced with more fury than ever.

Embaffy from Poreceived.

Whilst torrents of blood were shedding before land. How the capital of the ifle of Candia, the fultan received an embaffy at Adrianople from the king and republic of Poland, who demanded fatisfaction for an irruption made into their country by The instructions of the an army of Tartars. ambassador were, that if he could not obtain justice of the grand seignior, to engage that prince to remain neuter in the war which Poland might have with the Tartars. Turks shewed much haughtiness to this minister, whose master did not appear formidable to The caimacan made the Polish minister them. wait a long time for his audience, and gave him but little hopes of fuccess in the negociation which he was charged with. The ambaffador, called Radiouski, who was far advanced in age, being admitted, after much delay, to an audience of the grand feignior, spoke with great dignity of the Polish power, the resentment of the injuries which it had received, and the refolution

of the king his master to be signally revenged of J.C. 1667. the Tartars, if the fultan did not think fit to repress & to them. The noble liberty of the Pole displeased Mahomet IV. fo much, that he was taken away without having received his highness's answer. The caimacan having spoken to him, as he came out, with the haughtiness which the Ottomans affect to Christians, when they think they have no occasion to be afraid of them, the ambassador answered, that he would not suffer an insult, and that the happiest thing that could happen to an old man like him, would be to die in defending the honor and dignity of his prince and country. On this spirited reply, they prepared to arrest Radiouski. The old ambassador defended himfelf with a force above his age; he killed feveral chiaus who attempted to lay hands on him; but at length he was overcome by number, and shut up in his palace, where he died, a very few days after, of a fever, occasioned by the excess of his rage. The fecretary of the embaffy continued the negociation, which could not be expected to be fuccessful; they fent him back, after having declared to him, that if the Poles wished to live in peace with the fultan, they must, first, not expect any fatisfaction from the Tartars for the hostilities which they had received; fecondly, leave the Coffacks, who had 'till then been their vaffals, under the protection of the Turks, who would from thenceforward consider them as theirs; thirdly, make war with the Muscovites; fourthly

J.C. 1667. fourthly and laftly, grant the Turkish merchants & 1078 full liberty in Poland, be accountable to them for what they had loft there, and make them entire fatisfaction. Such an answer, and the treatment received by the ambaffador, one should have supposed, would have occasioned a bloody war; but the weakness of king Casimir prevented him from taking any advantage of the Ottoman forces being employed in the conquest of J.c. 1668. Candia. The illustrious Sobieski, at that time Heg. 1079. petty general of Poland, forced the Tartars to folicit peace. The resentment of the Poles did not break out 'till feveral years after, when the Turks came themselves to attack them. For the three last years of the Candian expedition, all the efforts of the Porte were directed against this single object. The number of men destroyed in this fiege, and the immense sums which it cost, caused sleets to be continually put to sea. Kiuperli, who did as he pleafed, was refolved to add the ifle of Candia to the other possessions of the Ottoman empire. His own consequence would not permit him to give up an enterprise that had cost him so much blood. Meanwhile the caimacan Mustapha, his creature and brother-in-law, governed at Constantinople; but this minister, who was afterward as powerful as Kiuperli had been, experienced a number of contradictions, before the bashaws, effendis, and officers of the empire, were accustomed to obey him.

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An unjust order, to which he put the seal of J.C. 1668. the empire, was like to throw the prince and caimacan into one of those precipices which fre- Troubles on account quently open under the feet of monarchs, when of thethey think that their pleasure, let it be what it will, must always be justice. The French merchants had brought into the ports of the Levant a little filver coin of the value of two-pence halfpenny sterling; the Turks found it so pretty and convenient, that they would fell their merchandise cheaper, provided they were paid in themins (that was the name given to these pieces in the different ports). As the Turkish money is rather scarce, almost every kind of foreign coin is current in those ports, and the Turks prefer those of the gold and filver that are of least value. The themins pleafed the Turks to fuch a degree, that they would not trade with any other money. They often refused to give their merchandise in exchange for French cloths and trinkets. Those, who did not bring themins, were not well received in the ports of the East. As there were not enough in France to furnish all the factories, and government had forbidden the carrying of money out of the kingdom, fome French and Dutch merchants contrived to make them in copper, which were only covered with filver; they carried a great quantity of these false themins into the Levant, which were received with avidity: the Turks, who are very simple and indolent, did not perceive this fraud

J.C. 1668. 'till a good while after, whether the copper appeared under the filver which wore away, or because the Frank merchants refused to take these themins which they had brought themselves. As there was an immense quantity of them in circulation, they were become the money most current; but, in a very short time, they were so eried down, that it was very difficult to get any one to take them but at a confiderable loss; fo that, instead of being a coin of a certain value, they became a precarious commodity, in which people were frequently deceived in endeavouring to discover the good themins from the bad, and among the latter more or less allay. By these numerous inconveniencies commerce became almost impracticable. The grand feignior, or rather the caimacan, caufed a catcherif to be published, which ordered that all the themins should be taken in payment at their reputed value. This inconsiderate decree interrupted all commerce with foreigners immediately, as they would rather carry back their merchandise, than receive copper in payment for filver. But this became still worse, when the clerks of the revenue refused these themins in the name of the emperor, and had those beaten or put in prison who brought them only this money in payment. In feveral provinces the defterdars were maffacred and torn to pieces by the populace. One day, the janissaries that were in garrison at Adrianople absolutely refused to receive

receive their pay in themins, and threatened to J.C. 1668. go and feek the emperor in the plains where his love of hunting drew him continually. Mustapha caimacan dreaded the confequences of a mutiny occasioned by his imprudence; he immediately ordered all the themins to be carried to the mint, and the proprietors to be paid their real value. This order did not fatisfy those who had received this money by order of government, still less the troops, who had been several times paid with this counterfeit coin. It was necessary to fatisfy the foldiers, whose clamours might prove dangerous. Their themins were received indifferently at the mint as if they had been of the best metal, and the public treasury sustained the lofs. But as the weakest are always the victims of anarchy, the themins of individuals not belonging to any great man of the Porte or any military body, were exchanged at the mint for their intrinsic value. Thus Mustapha, who had wanted the necessary prudence to prevent these diforders, had at least the good sense to appease them.

All these disturbances had not escaped the ears The fultan of the grand feignior, whose policy principally another confifted in keeping himself out of town in order the lives to fave his head from the rage of the malecontents; thers. perhaps he owed his throne and life to the fiege of Candia, which employed all the heroes and choice of the Ottoman troops. This prince, as cruel as timid, having heard that the name of

VOL. III. Gg his

J.C. 1668. his brother Solyman had been mentioned in some of the commotions which had arisen on account of the themins, resolved, for the second time, to rid himself of a dangerous rival, as likewise of Achmet his fecond brother, who might become equally dangerous in his turn. Though the valid fultaness had already opposed this barbarous defign, Mahomet IV. made no difficulty of writing to her again on the fubject. He endeavoured to prove to her, that the death of the two princes was become necessary, as if this necessity could be a matter of opinion; that his mother must be convinced of it; and that this double affaffination was only a wife precaution, which the valid fultaness could not blame when better informed. The emperor's letter, addressed to fultaness Tourhane, who was then at Constantinople with the two princes, struck her with that horror which a tender mother must necesfarily feel, on feeing the danger to which her two fons were exposed, and the barbarity of their brother. She fent the two princes out of the feraglio, and having called the mufti, the caimacan of Constantinople, the commander of some janissaries who guarded this capital, the bostangi pachi, and all the chiefs of the different corps, she declared to them that she would sooner die than fuffer one of her fons to dip his hands in the blood of the rest; that Mahomet had himself but one fon, very young and exceedingly weakly; and that justice, policy, and nature, equally opposed

posed this cruelty. Her oratory had such an J.C. 1668. effect on those to whom she spoke, that they all fwore to defend the princes at the peril of their lives. In a little time the shops of Constantinople were shut, and after the garrison had taken their arms, the citizens, to the number of more than forty thousand, armed themselves likewise. The danger of the two princes being removed by the general outcry, they returned to Constantinople They efalmost as foon as they had left it, as they could cape. not be fafer any where than in the capital of the empire, which had declared for them; and as there was no enemy to fight, nor any principal officers required to be deposed or put to death, this riot was foon over. Neither Solyman nor Achmet attempted to take advantage of the favor of the people to execute on Mahomet the treatment which the latter had intended for them. The emperor was left quiet in the mountains, which he overran every day, amidst armies of peafants that he levied continually to fight the wild beasts.

A war more bloody was carrying on in Candia. J.C. 1669. Heg. 1080. The Turks had fo fortified themselves in their siege of camp in the two years which the siege had lasted, Candia. and the town had been so constantly battered by a numerous artillery, that it might be said the Turks inhabited a flourishing town, and the Venetians had pitched their camp behind some heaps of rubbish. What had been customary in the crusades was again practised in this siege:

vol. III. Gg 2 monks.

J.C. 1669 monks and priefts, carrying the cross for a flandard, would conduct troops to the most dangerous places, take bastions, and die on the place which they had conquered. Often in the space of one day the same post would change masters three or four times, and each time be sprinkled with blood. The duke of Beaufort, * admiral of France, perished in one of these assaults, with more than fix hundred noblemen and gentlemen The duke of Navailles, who of his nation. commanded under him the fuccours fent by Lewis XIV. brought back the broken remains of them before the end of the fiege, by the orders of his court, which he shewed, and which no one could discover the motive of. The reciprocal discontent that this occasioned between the French and Venetians was one of the causes of the capitulation. A hundred and ten thousand Turks had perished before Candia, for the army had been entirely renewed fince the commencement of the fiege. They counted thirty-one thoufand Christians of different nations killed in the place. The French had promifed a fresh succour of men and money, which in fact had failed from Toulon in four veffels. A Greek Christian, called Panajot, who was druggerman to the Presses the Venetians Porte, made use of a base treachery to prevail on late, on a the Venetians to put an end to the carnage by supposition the surrender of Candia. Since the retreat of were fend- the marquis of Ville, whom his master the duke

A druggerman of the Porte to capituing fuc-

cours to the Turks. of

^{*} It has never been known what became of his dead body.

of Savoy had recalled, it was the marquis of J.C. 1669. Saint André-Montbrun, a French nobleman, that commanded in Candia under the proveditor Morosini. This general had performed miracles for the defence of the place with those of his countrymen who, not composing part of the regular troops under the command of the duke of Navailles, had not been forced to retire with him; however, all the Italians had conceived a fecret hatred against the French, which the hopes of an approaching fuccour could hardly make them diffemble. Panajot had spies in the town, and was well informed of what passed there; he fecretly obtained permission from the grand vizier to confer with the Venetians, and wrote to the proveditor Morofini, by a difguifed flave, that his attachment to the Christian religion and his veneration for the brave men who had fo long and fo vigoroully defended Candia, induced him to communicate fome advice to him of great importance; that they must confer together, and that they could both repair in difguise to a by cavern which he mentioned. Morosini repaired without mistrust to the place where Panajot was waiting for him, This perfidious Greek, after the strongest protestations of zeal, declared to the proveditor, that the grand vizier had given him a letter from the French minister to translate; that this dispatch contained a positive promise to fend those succours to the Turks which his master had intended for the Venetians, affuring him that

J.C. 1669 that Lewis XIV. was very forry for having retarded the taking of Candia by his auxiliary forces; that, for the future, he should think only how to facilitate it, and that the grand feignior might depend on having all the troops and ammunition which the Venetians vainly expected from a prince who would rather fee the Turks masters of Candia, than a republic which he should soon be obliged to go to war with himself. Though this proceeding was beyond all probability, and it could never be supposed that Lewis XIV., how much foever he might be believed the enemy of the Venetians, would have ficcoured the Turks in the face of all Christendom fo interested against them, Panajot had the address to make the proveditor believe this imposture, who returned to his ruins, enraged at the supposed treachery of the French. Those, to whom he imparted what Panajot had told him, refused to believe it, when they perceived at a distance fix vessels carrying the French flag, which affured their being fuch by firing a broad-Artifice to fide. The Venetians did not know that these give credit to this im- fame veffels had left the port occupied by the Turks the preceding night; and though their form and ornaments plainly discovered them to belong to the Porte, the belieged faw only the white flags and fome failors dreffed in the French manner who worked the veffels. This fight rejoiced the foldiers, who did not doubt that this was a fuccour; but when this little fleet entered the

polition.

the Turks' port, consternation spread among the J.C. 1669. few defenders that remained in Candia; they were hardly three thousand, and this number decreased every instant. The next day Panajot obtained a fresh conference of the proveditor; and, after having asked him, if he had not seen with his own eyes every thing that he had told him, he gave him a letter from the grand vizier, full of marks of the most perfect esteem, who promifed him a capitulation, both advantageous and nonorable, if he would abandon the fpot where the town of Candia had been, a spot that could no longer be defended, and which could not ferve as a place of shelter, even for the small number of inhabitants that remained there. The proveditor having reported these proposals to his council, Capitulaalmost all were for abandoning Candia, after hav- tion of Candia. ing blown up or burnt what remained of fortifications and houses, and for taking advantage of the port's being open, to embark the few inhabitants and foldiers, whom it were better to transport to Italy, than to expose to the barbarity and want of faith of the Turks. But, not only the number of their vessels was insufficient to execute this transportation, but the Venetians and Candians, who should have thus fled, would most probaly have been taken in their passage by the Turkish fleet cruifing in different squadrons on the coast of the island and that of Italy. Moreover, the execution of this project was very perilous for those whom they wished to fave; the mines neceffary

J.C. 1669 cessary could not be digged without much time, labour, and bloodshed; and it was very difficult to blow up so many heaps of stones all at once, without the greater part of the men, pent up in a rather small place, being crushed by their fall. At length the fagest of the council demonstrated that this action fo brilliant in appearance would be a real loss for the republic, as it would only inflame the war, diminish their forces, and leave at the mercy of an enraged enemy the garrisons of Suda, Carabufa, and Spinalonga, three small places which still held for the Venetians. After a mature deliberation, it was decided, that Morofini should make use of the power which he had recently received from his republic, to endeavour to conclude an honorable peace. The length and ardour of this siege had founded between the two parties a mutual esteem, which contributed greatly to facilitate the capitulation. The Turks, still more humbled than irritated at a resistance for twenty-nine months, thought that the glory of the Ottoman empire depended on a speedy reduction of Candia. They pressed Kiuperli to conclude the treaty which was in his hands; for they did not suppose that the besieged would refuse honorable conditions. The spahi agasi and Achmet bashaw, who acted as lieutenant-generals of the army, were fent, as likewife the interpreter Panajot, to confer with two Venetian officers to whom Morofini had given instructions. They found them under tents prepared

pared on purpose at the gate of the town. The J.C. 1669length of the debates gave both parties equal reafon to sear that the negociation would not succeed. The Venetians were bent on keeping the
three places that they had still in the island,
which, though no considerable ports, the republic would not give up, as the senate of Venice
was unwilling to renounce the isle of Candia
entirely. Kiuperli, seeing the impatience of the
army, and knowing how much the emperor Mahomet wished to put an end to the war, at length
gave up this article.

The treaty thus agreed on between the four deputies of the two armies was foon ratified by their chiefs. They took twelve days for its execution, by virtue of which all the prisoners and flaves were given up on both fides. As foon as the truce was announced, hostages were mutually given. When the veffels belonging to the Christians were full, the grand vizier furnished fome for those citizens that had not been able to find a place in them. Some janisfaries, having, in contempt of the treaty, prefumed to charge the guards of a post that was not yet given up, were punished with death. Kiuperli fent magnificent prefents to Morofini, who would not receive them, for fear of being accused of having fold Candia. He accepted all the refreshments which were furnished in abundance for him and his people, and was highly fatisfied with the fidelity and humanity of Kiuperli. Pursuant to Hh the VOL. III.

J.C. 1660 the articles of the treaty, the Venetians carried away all the artillery that they had brought into The Vene- Candia during the siege; that which had deeuate Can fended the place before the war they left behind. The Christians loaded the vessels lent by the Turks, not only with arms and ammunition, which they were permitted to do by the treaty, but likewise with bells, church-ornaments, a large quantity of gold and filver plate, and all the valuable things that they were able to remove, the Turks; who were restrained by their chiefs, not making any attempt to pillage or hinder the carrying away of these riches. All those, who had furvived the bloody operations of this fiege, foldiers, citizens, women, and children, took advantage of the permission to leave the place; fo much fo, that, when they were embarked, no more than thirty inhabitants were left in the ruins of Candia. The grand vizier made a triumphal entry into this vast solitude which prefented no other idea than that of destruction. He went into the principal church, just converted into a mosque, to return thanks to God for his triumph, and from thence to the palace that Morosini had inhabited; he gave the troops a fort of military festival, and had his fleet ranged in the port which the Venetians had left a few days before. Morofini and his people had retired to the little port of Suda to wait for the ratification of the treaty fent to the fenate of Venice. They there received too late the

the fix French vessels which the perfidious Pa- J.C. 1669. najot had affured them were intended for the Turks, and which they thought they had feen enter their port. permit the conto manifesto.

Meanwhile Kiuperli fent back his troops to Kiuperli is the different ports of Asia, in squadrons which occupied in be separately dispatched; but he kept the pioneers and reand workmen necessary to repair the ruins of Candia Candia. Though the multitude of dead bodies had infected the air, the attention of the grand vizier prevented a pestilence, and in a short time restored to this climate, which is one of the happiest in Europe, all its falubrity. This town, which might be called a new one, did not want inhabitants. These edifices, raised almost as soon as they had been demolished, were presently filled with Greek merchants (for whom Panajot obtained a church), and fome Mahometan foldiers but meanly circumstanced in their own country, who found a plentiful subsistence in this island. Kiuperli was desirous of being a witness of this fort of colonization; believing his presence as necessary for rebuilding this place as it had been to destroy it, he staid in Candia the remainder of the year 1669 and the beginning of the following one.

The news of this peace filled Adrianople, Con- 1.C.1670. stantinople, and all the Ottoman empire, with joy; Heg. 1081. but what is beyond all probability, and which 'till then had never happened, the messengers dispatched to Mahomet IV. fought him a long VOL. III. Hh 2 time

Heg. 1081. taking of Candia.

I.C. 1670. time without being able to find him, because noone knew where the ardour of the chase had car-They feek ried him. Though the Eastern manners do not ror, who had lost his permit the Ottoman emperor to separate from way in the his numerous retinue, or to lay aside the pomp him of the which affures him the almost idolatrous veneration of his people, and that after the reiterated attempts of Mahomet to put his brothers to death, it might be dangerous for him to lay himfelf to open to their vengeance, his predominant paffion had made him forget his prudence. He had wandered from Salonichi, where he had paffed feveral days, into a thick forest; and his most intimate officers had lost all traces of him. After feeking him a long time, they found the fultan in a peafant's cottage, where he had retired without prefuming to discover himself, for fear of falling a facrifice to hatred or avarice. On his return to Salonichi, where he ordered great rejoicings for the taking of Candia, the emperor received an ambaffador from England, who came to folicit the ratification of the treaties made between his nation and the Porte. Though Mahomet IV. granted this minister every thing that he asked, the caimacan, Mustapha, who equally respected and feared Kiuperli his brotherin-law, told the fultan, that it was usual for the grand viziers, and not the caimacans, to conclude the treaties with crowned heads. prevailed on him to wait for the return of that minister to treat with the English ambassador.

Embaffy from Englandito renew the treaties.

. Kiuperli

Kiupera did not leave Candia 'till the month J.C. 1670. of May, after having feen the repairs of the town far advanced, and having restored peace Return of Kiuperlito and plenteousness to that island, as much as the Adrianodevastations occasioned by a five and twenty years war would permit. The minister went to Adrianople, where he was received with loud acclamations. No grand vizier had ever been more beloved or more respected than Kiuperli. His whole attention was directed to the public good, without thinking of enriching himself as almost all his predecessors had done. He raised to places, only those whom he believed worthy of them. During his ministry, the janissaries and spahis, heretofore so dangerous and so difficult to keep in order, were as quiet as any of the other troops of the empire, and the more feared by the enemy, because they knew better how to obey their commanders. In the whole course of the year that followed the taking of Candia we do not remark any thing but the folemn ratification He reiteof the treaty with the Venetians, and a new pro-prohibihibition of wine, which Kiuperli maintained with wine. great feverity during the remainder of his ministry. It is thought that there was more policy than religion in it. Kiuperli had remarked, as the founder of Islamism had done before him, that the Orientals, being fooner heated than other people, could not bear wine, which is more heady in Asia and the eastern part of Europe than any where else; that a Turk never tasted wine but he

J.C. 1670. got drunk, and that this misfortune rendered the fubjects of the empire guilty of a number of diforders.

J.C. 1671. Heg. 1082. of the limits in

The Venetian ambaffador experienced a great Settlement deal of difficulty in regulating the limits in Dalmatia. It was agreed, that each state should take Dalmatia. what had formerly belonged to it, without paying any regard to the last conquests; but as there had not been between the Turks and Venetians any other law than that of arms, it was always by force that fuch particular towns or territories had belonged to the power which claimed them. This dispute was not entirely terminated 'till the end of the year 1671. Kiuperli, who was unwilling to recommence hostilities, agreed to give the Venetians the same limits in Dalmatia as they had had in 1576. Cliffa was confirmed to the republic to form its frontiers.

Affairs of the Coffacks of the Ekraine.

This same year, Mahomet received at Adrianople where he still was, an embassy very honorable for the Porte, and which announced to Europe and Asia how much this power was respected. The Cossacks of the Ukraine, vassals of the crown of Poland, had been groaning for a long time under the insupportable yoke of the Polish nobles. These people, as warlike as their tyrants, found in their despair resources to repel the injustice. After having carried on a bloody war, they obtained from king Casimir, who was more just and humane than his subjects, conditions which made the Cossacks hope to live

in future under the protection of treaties; but J.C. 1671. this peace, concluded by equity, was not maintained by authority. The Polish nobles murmured, faying, that their bondmen were raifed to be their equals. This state, more republican than monarchial, was less in subjection to the feeble Casimir than it had been formerly to its other kings. The Coffacks were foon obliged to take up their arms again. Having joined the Crimean Tartars, they combated feveral years with a valour worthy of the cause which they defended; but were at length obliged to yield to number and the military talents of the illustrious Sobieski. King Casimir having abdicated the crown in 1668, the Poles experienced that election is not always a fure way to raife to the throne the princes most worthy of reigning. King Casimir, who had always been accused of weaknefs, was succeeded by Michael Viecnoviecki, a prince still weaker. Dorozensko, whom the Cosfacks had chosen for their ethman, took advantage of the troubles which arose in the new reign, to demand the ratification of the treaty made with king Casimir. The Cossacks declared, that they would no longer continue united to the Poles than they should be considered as their equals, and have entrance and a voice in the diets. This pretension, too contrary to the spirit and interests of the Polish nobility, could not possibly be complied with. Immediately on their being refused, Dorozensko dispatched deputies to Adrianople

of the Porte.

J.C. 1671. Adrianople to put the Ukraine under the protection of Mahomet IV. and folicit the rugh and They foli-other marks of vassalage. Nearly about the protection fame time, counts Serin, Nadasti, and Frangipani, Hungarians, fent to the grand feignior to request fuccours against Leopold the emperor of the West. Kiuperli, well informed of the state of Europe and the real interests of the Porte, would rather receive the homage of a whole nation induced by oppression to change master, than Support the rebellion of some malecontents, who 'had not a party fufficiently strong to hope to free Hungary from the yoke of the house of Austria, and who in fact soon after carried their pretenfions and hatred on a scaffold. The Hungarians did not receive any favorable reply, but Dorozensko obtained every thing that he had asked.

Michael, the new king of Poland, had just fent J.C. 1672. an ambassador to Adrianople to communicate to Heg. 1083. the grand seignior his accession to the throne. The Polish minister, called Vissoski, was charged to treat with the grand vizier on the affair of the Cossacks. This negociation was without the Kiuperli, daily informed of the least success. mutual discontents between the king and republic, considered the Ukraine as a certain and lawful conquest; and as he thought that these people accustomed to inroads and rapine, would make, in future, in the country of the Poles, the ravage which they had 'till then committed in that of the Turks; he would rather his nation should

should have them for tributaries than enemies. J.C. 1672. Heg. 1083. Spite of the remonstrances of the Polish ambasfador, the tugh, fword, and vest of fable, were carried to the ethman from the grand feignior. A fetfa from the mufti declared the war against Poland lawful, in case the king and republic refused to grant a lasting peace to the Cossacks, the new allies of the invincible emperor. Kiuperli, who thought himself sure of success in this campaign, prevailed on his mafter to put himfelf at the head of his troops, in order to shew the people, that this prince knew how to make war with men as well as with wild beafts.

In effect, Mahomet departed in the fpring at Mahomet the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, the head of attended by his grand vizier, whom he could not his troops. well do without. He traversed Transylvania and Walachia, and passed the Niester to enter Podolia. Kiuperli meant to lay siege to Kaminieck, the capital of that province, fituated on the top of a rock, the foot of which is washed by a river, and more fortified by nature than by art. When the news arrived in Poland that the Turks had in Poland, attacked this place, king Michael, who was himfelf threatened to be deposed by the principal members of the republic, had just put himself under the protection of the nobility and gentry of the lower rank, whom he had affembled in the plains of Culm, on the borders of the Viftula, in the palatine of Lublin. There, a hundred thousand noblemen and gentlemen, badly armed,

WOL. III.

furrounded

C. 1672 furrounded the king that they had chofen. This multitude, without discipline or plan of operation, and without any other commander than the master whom they wished to defend, who was incapable of leading them, was all confusion and disorder. Whilst Sobieski, the foul of the opposite party, at that time grand-general of the kingdom, affembled thirty thousand good troops at Lowicz in the palatine of Rava, Michael, at the head of a hundred thousand men, did not think himself strong enough to repress those whom he called rebels; he would rather endeavour to get them affaffinated. A price was fet on the heads of Sobieski and the primate of Poland by the monarch in the proclamation which profcribed these two generals; Michael pretended to screen those who should attempt their lives from the infamous character which justice, more powerful than the law, has stamped on the face of every affaffin. The officers and foldiers of the Polish army swore solemnly to defend their commanders: "I accept your oaths," replied Sobieski to them, " but, before " any thing else, we must defend our country." Such was the state of Poland, when Mahomet, at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand Turks, came to lay fiege to Kaminieck.

The governor of Kaminieck refufes a fuccour fent by Sobielki.

The grand general Sobieski had sent eight thousand of his best troops to strengthen the garrison of Kaminieck; but the governor, quite devoted to the king of Poland, refused to receive those thole troops who came to defend the place, lest J.C. 1672. Sobieski should become more master there than himself. It was scarcely possible but a nation so divided must be overcome; Sobieski however exerted all his efforts to ferve those who had fworn his destruction. A hundred thousand Tartars, armed under their khan Selim Gerai, had received orders from Mahomet to ravage Poland during the fiege of the capital of Podolia. The Tartarian fovereign divided his hundred thousand men into three bodies; he retained the command of the most considerable himself. and gave the two others to his fons Meradin and The grand Galga. Meradin had the temerity to march his poland troops directly between the two Polish camps, beats the Tartars in of which king Michael commanded the most feveral ennumerous, and Sobieski the most formidable: the alarm was fo great in the Culm camp, that this numerous body of nobility and gentry dispersed in less than two days, without its being possible to retain two thousand gentlemen around the king, out of the one hundred thoufand that he had. Even Michael did not believe The fright himself in safety, 'till the ditches and walls of disperses Lublin were between the Tartars and him. So-of king Michael. biefki, feeing his perfecutors take to flight, prepared to ferve his country; he came up with Meradin, and, with an army less numerous, defeated him: the Tartars, once repulsed, never return to the charge. Galga, the khan's fecond fon, fearing to be vanquished like his brother, Ii 2 VOL. III. kept

J.C. 1672. kept along by the Niester, in order to rejoin the army of Selim Gerai; Sobieski found means to conceal his march from the Tartar, came up with him, and vanguished and pursued him with the Polish cavalry as far as the corps of troops commanded by Selim Gerai. The khan of the Tartars had met nothing but booty on his way; his march was retarded by a multitude of flaves of both fexes and of all ages, whom he was dragging after him, and by innumerable flocks which he had taken in the defolated plains. This prey took from him the defire of engaging the vanquisher of his two fons. Sobjeski had time to reassemble the Polish army, which the pursuit of the enemy had dispersed; and as the Polish general had a perfect knowledge of the country which the khan was overrunning at hazard, he lay wait for him in some narrow passes that the Tartar had to pass, and which took from him the advantage of number; this was at the foot of the Calpate mountains in a place called Kaus: the battle was fo bloody, that, in less than four hours, fifteen thoufand Tartars lay stretched on the earth; their chief fled, as likewise all his squadrons, who abandoned their booty. Sobieski had the inexpresible pleasure of taking the fetters from thirty thousand Poles to load their conquerors with them, and to restore to his unfortunate countrymen one part of the property which had been wrested from them.

Whilft

Whilst this great man was repairing, as much J.C. 1672. 1083: as lay in him, the misfortunes of his country, that king Michael was trembling within the walls of Lublin, and that all these nobles, who had pretended so much fidelity, were dispersed to such a degree that one would have thought them hidden under the earth, Kaminieck surrendered of Kato the emperor of the Turks. The governor, minieck who had refused to receive soldiers for the defence of the place, had permitted a multitude of women, old men, children, monks, and bondmen of all ages, to enter, who samished the town without being of the least service.

Not only this troublesome multitude confumed the provisions, but they even corrupted the air; for, filling up a small space, the continual fire and the shivers of bombs killed still more of these miserable refugees than of the soldiers. The garrison, which amounted at least to eight thoufand men, was no way feconded by this crowd of feeble, timid people, whom fear alone had driven The operations of the fiege into Kaminieck. were pushed with the greatest vigour; at length, he, who had employed near three years in the taking of Candia, made himself master of Kaminieck in less than a month, by the confession of the historians who prolong this siege the most; but others affert that it held out only twelve days. The garrifon hoped to be able to defend themselves some time longer in the citadel; but Kiuperli offered them the alternative, of retiring with

J.C. 1672. with their arms and baggage into the inner part of Poland, or of being put to the fword. The fortress soon surrendered: the officer who commanded there under the governor, overcome with grief and transported with rage, blew up a redoubt in which he had affembled fome brave fellows; he there perished with them after the capitulation was figned, at the very time that the Turks advanced to take possession of the place. Mahomet wanted to construe this catastrophe into an infringement of treaty; but Kiuperli represented to him, that the authors of this supposed act of hostility had been punished by it. The townsmen had been promifed their lives, liberties, and property, and Mahomet IV. was faithful to his word. The Poles grieved to fee the grand feignior ride into the principal church, and convert it into a mosque, as likewise all the others, except one which was left the Christians. Mahomet, being master of Kaminieck, sent garrisons into the different towns of the Ukraine which held for the Coffacks; then advancing into the inner part of Poland, he pitched his camp at Boudchaz, from whence he detached forty thousand men, under the command of Capelan bashaw, governor of Aleppo, to lay siege to Leopolstadt.

Discipline established by Kiu-

The march of the Turks in Poland refembled that of well disciplined troops in their own country. Kiuperli restrained these soldiers by severity, who 'till then had thought pillage, not only a right, but an essential part of war. The grand vizier. vizier carried his rigour to fuch a height, that J.C. 1672. he had feveral of the janissaries put to death who had been convicted of stealing vegetables in the houses that lay along their route; and it was remarked by the officers, that chastissements had never been more rare, or provisions in greater plenty. The grand vizier sent parties to put the villages and towns near the army under contribution. The magazines, disposed at equal distances, received what the parties brought, which was divided between the troops on a day appointed for that purpose. There never had been an example, 'till Kiuperli, of such order in the Ottoman armies.

Leopolstadt made but little resistance. The Taking of news foon arrived, that it had furrendered to Cape- fradt. lan bashaw on the same conditions that Kaminieck had to Mahomet. ·King Michael, who kept within the walls of Lublin, learned at the same time the lofs of Leopolstadt and Sobieski's victories over the Tartars; these two events so different caused him equal chagrin. Feeble souls cannot help being jealous. Michael would rather have lost Poland than have seen it saved by Sobieski. Having learned that this great man had increased his army with new levies; that he was advancing towards Boudchaz camp, and that he longed to try his talents against Kiuperli, Michael hastened to conclude a peace. He fent the khan of the Tartars, who is a prince feudatory to the Porte, a power to act as mediator between Mahomet

J.C. 1672. IV. and him. The Turks took advantage of between

the troubles of Poland and the weakness of the Peace a- king. Selim Gerai the khan was empowered to Michael accept any terms () It accept any terms for Michael, provided the grand feignior confirmed to him the title of monarch, the Poles and Turks. which the most numerous and respectable part of his subjects resused him. The treaty of peace was figned at Boudchaz camp; the Poles gave up Kaminieck and all Podolia; the king of Poland renounced likewise his pretensions to the Ukraine, acknowledging the Cossacks for vassals of the Ottoman empire, and, by an article still more mortifying, obliged Poland to pay an annual tribute of twenty thousand rix dollars to the Porte. However ignominious this condition might be, Michael would rather fwallow the difgrace of it, than leave Sobieski an opportunity of acquiring more glory, and of strengthening his party against him. The king of Poland promifed more than he could perform; he had no right to subject the republic to a tribute without the consent of the diet, as, in all circumstances, the confent of that affembly is necessary both to declare war and conclude peace. But Kiuperli, fatisfied with having added a province to the dominions of his mafter, and with having pretty well flirred up the fire of discord among his neighbours, brought back Mahomet and his troops triumphant to Constantinople, leaving in Podolia and the Ukraine the necessary forces to keep the new conquests in subjection, as likewise the Cosfacks

facks, who were not perfectly obedient to their J.C. 1672. erhman.

After the rejoicings in Constantinople on ac-Tripoli count of Mahomet's fuccesses, which were cele- becomes a republic. brated with great magnificence, the divan turned their attention to a rebellion that had broken out in Tripoli. The bashaw of that province was become a fort of fovereign. For a long time past, neither cadis nor defterdars had been sent to Tripoli; the fums annually fent to the treasury of Constantinople were a real tribute. The bafhaw gave no account of prizes; the places received no garrifons; the bashaw paid the troops levied for the guard of the port with the taxes which he himself laid on, and he had a right to divide with the corfairs the booty made by fea. This advantage incited one Ofman, whom Kiuperli had made bashaw of Tripoli, to abuse it. His avarice perfuaded him that all the prizes made by the corfairs ought to be at his disposal; he left them fuch a trifling profit, that the owners feemed to fcour the fea, only to enrich their bashaw. These repeated injustices caused several complaints to be made to the divan. The emperor and grand vizier were at that time occupied with affairs of more ferious consequence than the division of booty between pirates. The Tripolines could not obtain any redress from the Porte, and Ofman bashaw became more rapacious through impunity. Injustice in the end generally produces an infurrection. The Tripolines, who had Kk feveral VOL. III.

J.C. 1672. several times complained to no purpose, forced the bashaw one day to take shelter in the citadel, where they belieged him, took him prisoner, and put him to death: after which the chiefs of the confpiracy refolved to assume the same government as Algiers. The people elected a dey, and established a fort of senate; and when their republic was a little fettled, they fent deputies to Mahomet to solicit a confirmation of it, offering to increase the tribute which the Turkish bashaw had 'till then paid his master. Their deputies were ordered to intimate, that the Tripolines would have no objection to have an Ottoman bashaw at the head of their republic, provided he had no more power than that of Algiers. Kiuperli, fatisfied with the steady and circumspect conduct of these people, readily advised his master to grant all their requests, as they were advantageous for the Porte. A bashaw was sent to Tripoli with the same instructions as that at Algiers, that is, to represent the Ottoman emperor, the protector of the republic, and watch over the commercial interests of the immediate subjects of the grand feignior.

.C. 1673. Renewalof the treaties be-Porte and France.

In the beginning of the following year, Mr. Heg. 1084. Denointel, the French ambassador, concluded an advantageous treaty for his nation, but which in tween the fact was only a piece of justice that the Turks had refused his predecessors. When the first treaties were made with France, that power, which was the first that treated with the Turks, granted

a duty

a duty of five per cent. to the Porte on all mer- 1.C. 1673. chandife that should be brought into the different sea ports. Since this, Holland and England had likewise defired to treat; and, in order to diminish the commerce of the French, who were accufed of abusing the privileges that had been granted them, these mercantile people had sent stuffs into the Levant of a better quality, manufactured with more care, and which they fold cheaper than the French used to sell theirs. The favorable reception which particularly the English cloths and the Dutch linens had throughout the Levant, procured the manufacturers of thefe two nations conditions at three per cent, for their merchandife, whilft the French continued to pay five according to their treaty. Meffrs. Lahaye, feignior and junior, in the course of their embaffies, had never been able to procure a reformation of this disproportion; but the regulations introduced into the French manufactures by the minister Colbert, having constrained the manufacturer to furnish stuffs of a better quality, the French cloths and other merchandise recovered their credit in all the factories. The victories too of Lewis XIV, and the confideration which that monarch had acquired throughout Europe, made the Turks look on him as a formidable adverfary for the house of Austria, whom it was of great consequence for them to conciliate. The treaty concluded by Mr. Denointel related to two principal objects: commerce, and the liberty of the Kk 2 VOL. III. Roman

.C. 1673. Roman catholic religion in the Levant. The Roman catholic monks had experienced for many years back more difficulties, and even perfecutions, from the Greek Christians than the Musfulmen. These Greeks, who are born subjects of the grand seignior, have a patriarch at Constantinople, who receives the pastoral staff and the ring from the hands of the fultan. They are tolerated more voluntarily in the dominions of this prince, than the Roman catholic Christians; they have had the address to cause the latter to be regarded as the enemies, not only of the worship, but of the power of the Turks, because, they say, they are immediate subjects of a foreign prince, who is the pope. In this manner the Greeks had found means to get possession of the Holy places, both at Bethlehem and Jerufalem. Though, fince the crusades, the Holy fepulchre and the other places, confecrated by the birth and death of Jesus Christ, had belonged to the Roman catholics, the Greeks, having taken advantage of the power of the bashaws, had driven the Romish monks from the churches built by them on this territory, and extorted money with great avidity from the Latin pilgrims drawn by devotion to the cradle of their faith. In the treaty which Mr. Denointel concluded in the name of Lewis XIV. it was stipulated, that the church of the Holy sepulchre, usurped by the Greeks, should be restored to the Latins; that the French, and all the other Christians who might

might go in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, should not J.C. 1673. be molested in any part of Turkey; that the churches of Galata and Pera, belonging to the French, should be rebuilt in case of fire; that the French should be permitted to make wine in their own houses, and to sell it to those who were not Musfulmen; that the duties in future should be reduced to three per cent., and the merchandife that should have once paid it in any factory should not be obliged to pay it again in another; and finally, that all disputes that should arise with respect to commerce between the French consuls and the officers of the Porte should be decided in open divan, provided the object were not less than four thousand aspers. This treaty, concluded and figned, to the great fatisfaction of all the French merchants and Romish monks who lived in the dominions of the grand feignior, had a full execution for every thing that respected commerce; but the restitution of the Holy places suffered a number of difficulties from the avidity of the bashaws and cadis of Palestine, who constantly favoured the Greeks in return for the confiderable fums which they continually received from them. What greatly flattered the French ambassador, and which taught the other Franks how much Lewis XIV. was esteemed in the Levant, was the permission granted this minister to visit the ports where the French had factories. Mr. Denointel received great honors from the bashaws of the different places where he

.C. 1673. went to carry the orders of the king of France. This visit was without example since the foundation of the Ottoman empire; the ministers of Christian powers had often been prisoners in their palaces at Constantinople, but had never exercised a jurisdiction over the subjects of their masters, scattered up and down the provinces of the empire.

Kiuperli had too great an infight into things not to preferve the grand feignior fuch an ally as the king of France, especially as he saw the neceffity of watching the frontiers bordering on the Austrian dominions. This glorious peace made fo recently with Poland, was far from being well fecured. Kiuperli had depended on the divisions between the monarch and the republic, which were become less violent. The feeble Michael, obliged to give way to the great reputation of Sobieski, to the power of his party, and particularly to the fuperiority of his talents, had fent to compliment and invite to a diet of pacification, this man whom he had profcribed fome months before. grand general appeared in this affembly, where the king humbled himself before subjects that he had been unable to reduce. Sobieski exclaimed the Turks. loudly against what he termed the infamous treaty of Boudchaz. He pointed out the treasure kept at Warfaw as a certain resource, and particularly the courage and indignation of the Poles, who longed to wash off this disgrace from their nation. Notwithstanding the secret exertions of Sobieski's

enemies against his deligns, and even against his

person,

The Poles break the treaty which their king had made with

person,* the grand general obtained all the suf- Heg. 1084 frages, and fucceeded to have the treaty declared void, difgraceful to the republic, and made without its confent. The ardour with which the Poles were inflamed, required other fuccours than those possessed by this exhausted republic. The treafure of Warfaw confifted more in jewels and precious furniture than in money. It was neither fufficiently abundant, nor of a nature to furnish speedily the means to raise troops. The Lithuanians had the fame interests, but not the fame zeal, as the Poles; they made Sobieski wait for them fo long, that all the forces which he expected were not ready 'till the end of September. Notwithstanding these delays, fifty thousand men were affembled, and after a disagreeable march of Sobieski fix weeks, Sobieski met a chiau on the other side towardsthe of the Niester, sent by the Porte to carry king Podolia. Michael the caftan, a mark of vaffalage, which the grand general called the ignominious veft, and to demand the first year's tribute stipulated by the treaty of Boudchaz. Sobieski having asked this Turk for the letters which he had for the king: "The honor of opening the letters of our "invincible emperor," replied the chiau, "be-"longs only to thy mafter, to whom hey are ad-" dreffed: I will lofe my life before they shall be " wrested from me." The grand general was tempted to have this haughty envoy put in chains; but.

A fecret enemy accused Sobieski of being a traitor to his country, and add immediately after this accusation.

.C. 1673. but, recollecting the respect due from a general to the law of nations, he let him pass without permitting any infult to be offered him.

> Sobieski advanced as much as the rigour of the feason would permit him. Chusain bashaw, who commanded in Podolia with the rank of feraskier or generalissimo, had in a short time collected eighty thousand men in the camp of Choczin, an advantageous situation for defending the entrance of that province, which Kiuperli had had the precaution to provide with troops. The town of Choczin, fituated on the right fide of the Niester, is defended by a good citadel, and by another fort on the opposite side of the river. Notwithstanding the advantage of the ground that furrounded this place, where the Ottoman army was intrenched as if in a large fortress, Sobieski resolved to join battle. This was contrary to the advice of Pak, the general of the Lithuanians, who argued a long time in the council of war on the inconfiftency of attacking an army fuperior in number in a fortified camp. Sobieski could not divulge, that Petrecseius, prince of Moldavia, and Gregory, prince of Walachia, had promifed to defert to him in the heat of the battle. Petrecfeius longed to be revenged of an infult The general, Chufain bashaw, had had the imprudence to strike in his rage the prince of Mol-These vassals of the Ottoman empire, often treated like flaves, are no more faithful to their barbarous mafters, than real flaves who figh for

for the moment to break their chains. During J.C. 1673. the three days that the Polish army had been encamped before Choczin, and that Petrecseius had received from the seraskier this base treatment, the prince of Moldavia had continually informed the grand general by signals and deserters of every thing that was of consequence for him to know. Sobieski, vexed at the opposition of Pak, to whom he would not say in an open council of war on what advantages he relied, confined himself to conjuring his colleague to be a witness at the head of his Lithuanians, of the efforts which the Poles were going to make. Pak loved glory; he yielded to the solicitation of a general who merited his considence.

At break of day, when the Turkish guards, Battle of fatigued with the watch of the night, were invo- where the luntarily yielding to sleep, Sobieski, on foot, con- Turks are ducted a regiment of dragoons himself to that part of the intrenchment which the Moldavian had informed him was most accessible; the escalade was made almost without resistance, and the Walachians and Moldavians declared immediately for the affailant. The attack was fo fudden that the outermost tents of the Turks were pillaged before the spahis had mounted their horses or the janisfaries formed their ranks. Jablonouski, the palatine of Russia, had no difficulty to get possesfion of the ground that the Walachians and Moldavians quitted: the Poles entered through the breaches; and Pak followed with his Lithuanians.

vol. III. Sobieski,

J.C. 1673. Sobieski, to whom they had brought a horse, made his dispositions in the middle of the enemy's camp, just as he would have done in his tent the evening before the battle. Meanwhile the Turks, affrighted, endeavoured to rally at some distance. It was with difficulty that Sobieski could keep his foldiers from pillaging; he fent to destroy a bridge that the Turks had thrown over the Niefter, and which he knew to be badly guarded. When the janissaries learned that their retreat was cut off, they fell into despair, which completed their defeat; twenty thousand men threw themselves into the Niester to endeavour to save themfelves by fwimming; twenty thousand were biting the ground; and the rest of the army was disperfed; Chusain fled in time at the head of some fpahis, who took refuge with him in Kaminieck.

Taking of the citadel of Choczin.

Sobieski, whom this victory had cost five thoufand men, had the cruelty to have more than four thousand prisoners who begged their lives massacred in cold blood. He fummoned the citadel of Choczin to furrender at discretion after an attack of fome hours, threatening to burn the fortress and flaughter all that he should find therein, without distinction of nation, profession, fex, or age, if the gates were not immediately opened. Causio bashaw, one of Chusain's lieutenants, a prisoner preserved from the carnage by the policy of Sobieski, was sent with the trumpeter who made this cruel fummons. Notwithstanding the general terror, the foldiers replied that they expected

pected to die, but that they would not open their J.C. 1673. gates, unless they were permitted to march out with the honors of war and go to Kaminieck. was impossible to obtain any other answer from them. The bashaw Causio brought back this reply to Sobieski; and, bathing with his tears the paper on which the proposed capitulation was written, begged the grand general of Poland to reflect how uncertain the fortune of war was: that all brave foldiers were equally intitled to esteem. and even affiftance when the interest of their cause was not concerned; and that military valour did not exclude humanity. The unfeigned grief and eloquence of the bashaw had the desired effect on Sobieski, who was not naturally cruel, and who had been led away by the heat of victory only. He granted the defenders of Choczin all they asked; and the garrison marched out with the honors of war to retire to Kaminieck, forty waggons carrying the wounded and baggage.

Sobieski was advancing at the head of his Death of the king victorious army, to furround a body of twenty of Poland. thousand men, intended to reinforce the army of Chusain bashaw, when he learned the death of the king of Poland. This event prevented him from profiting, as much as he might have done, by the victory of Choczin, and faved Kaminieck, which he had defigned to take. of greater consequence required his presence at

Ll2 VOL. III.

Whilst the Poles and Ottomans were fighting

J.C. 1673. Warfaw, as well as the nobles, to whom belonged the right of choosing a master.

Wer between the tholic and Greek

Roman ca- for the dominion of the Ukraine and Podolia, the Greek monks made war at Jerusalem with the Christians. Latins for the possession of the Holy places. It is most likely that the latter were the aggressors, as, by virtue of the treaty concluded with Lewis XIV. they had endeavoured to get possession of Bethlehem chapel, built on the very fpot where Jesus Christ came into the world. The Greeks had long been in possession of this facred monument. On their refusing to give it up, the Latins thought themselves authorised to form a fort of crusade, in order to take it by force. We have already remarked, that, in the quarrels between the Roman and Greek Christians, the Musfulmen always take part with the latter. The fangiac lent them fuccours. They not only recovered Bethlehem chapel, but had likewife the boldness to attack the Latins whilst they were celebrating Christmas in the Holy sepulchre; the blood of some monks of both parties, polluted the facrifices which were offered up that holy night to the redeemer of the World. The Latins were vanquished; and when they complained to the divan of the violation of a treaty fo recently made, they received no other answer, than that it appeared from the records that the Greeks had been always in possession of it, and that this had been recently confirmed

to them by a catcherif, which the late Panajot, J.C. 1673. first interpreter to the Porte, the same to whose address the reduction of Candia was thought due, had obtained for the monks of his faith. All that the ambaffadors could obtain was, that the Greeks should permit the Latin pilgrims to enter the Holy places, on pecuniary conditions, for which the Greek prelates should pay the grand feignior an annual fum; which equally fatisfied the avarice of both parties. This decision, so contrary to the new treaty, was made in open divan.

The same tribunal pronounced a more just J.C. 1674. decree against a favorite of Mahomet's, called Heg. 1085. also Mahomet. This man, raised by the fa- tar aga is vor of the monarch to the most advantageous for the and least dangerous posts, such as felictar aga meanors and defterdar of the houshold, had folicited had comthe command of ten galleys fent to the isles of defterdar. the Archipelago to bring home the revenues both in natural produce and money. This commission, which gave Mahomet aga an opportunity of fingering a great deal of riches, exposed him greatly to temptation, as he thought he might do what he pleafed under a prince who made him his companion. This officer, in his visit to the different islands, conducted himself as the favorite of a voluptuous prince, who thinks he may do just what he pleases and pays no attention to the interests of the people. His exactions were fo great, that fome very ferious complaints ar-

punished

rived

J.C. 1674 rived at Constantinople, before Mahomet aga had brought back his galleys to the capital, more loaded on his own account than the emperor's, Immediately on their entering the port, the grand vizier sent a guard on board, in order to prevent any thing from being removed out of the veffels; and, notwithstanding the weakness which the fultan did not diffemble for this extortioner, Kiuperli persuaded him, that it was for the interest of Mahomet aga, that he himself should give an account of his conduct in open divan, which feveral letters represented to be very criminal, but which he could not think true. The fultan did not doubt that his grand vizier meant to justify this favorite whom he wished to find innocent, and with this idea confented to a formality which tended to clear his character. But the faithless aga not having been able to answer the complaints brought against him from the different islands where he had behaved so ill, still less to the questions put to him by Kiuperli on the quantity of riches hidden in his veffels, the smallest part of which only he had intended for the public treasury; he was fully convicted; and the grand vizier condemned him to death, which fentence was executed before the fultan knew of it. Kiuperli, by this equitable and fevere conduct, always prescribed the same to his master, who, quite incapable of holding the reins of government, had at least the prudence to leave them to his minister.

The war lingered on both sides this year. J.C. 1674. The Poles were taken up with choosing a king. On the news that the grand general Sobieski, already too formidable, had mounted this throne which he had 'till then fo well defended, Kiuperli levied confiderable forces; he ordered the khan of the Tartars to march towards the Ukraine, and chose from the janissaries twelve thousand serdengietchdis, which he caused to be Establishing of ferreplaced in that corps by twelve thousand re-dengietchcruits. These foldiers answer directly to what nadiers in we formerly called the forlorn hope, and now faries. grenadiers.* They receive an additional pay of eleven afpers to that which they had before, and in consequence are sent on all detachments and the most fatiguing and dangerous duty. Kiuperli joined these twelve thousand picked men to the Tartars which he fent into the Ukraine as foon as he learned that the new king of Poland was marching towards that province. This prince, who had deferred the ceremony of his coronation, thought to complete in a fecond campaign what he had fo fortunately begun the preceding one; but, in a circumstance where Sobieski seemed to forget his own interest for that of the nation which had just chosen him, he was not feconded. The grand general of Lithuania, Pak, who 'till then had been the rival of the grand general of Poland, grieved in fecret to fee him his master. In order to convince him that

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^{*} The Turkish word fignifies devoted to death.

Heg. 1083. abandoned to go into winter quariers.

J.C. 1672. an elective monarch has not an absolute power, especially before he is crowned, Pak withdrew The king of Poland, his Lithuanians at the very time that the king by the Li- was thinking to lay fiege to Kaminieck. This thuanians, fort of defection obliged Sobieski to go into winter quarters; he went to Braclaw to wait 'till the fpring, when he proposed taking the field again. An artisan, says his historian, would have thought himself badly lodged in the house which he occupied.

> Meanwhile Kiuperli, who, as we have already observed, had given the command of the army to the khan of the Tartars, refolved, in order the better to defend Kaminieck from the attempts of the Poles, to purge the territory of all the Greek and Latin Christians, even of the Jews, who lived in great numbers in the environs of this These unfortunate people were torn from their homes, and transported beyond the Danube into a country heretofore inhabited by Greeks, and at that time almost a defert. divided between them this uncultivated fpot. The houses and territories that they had been constrained to forsake, were distributed to two thousand spahis, who became as many timarians, subject in consequence to lose the posfessions which they were granted.

> Whilst Kiuperli was meditating to oppose new forces to the talents of king John Sobieski, the grand feignior was taken up with the pleasure of displaying in Adrianople all the Ottoman pomp

on account of the marriage of one of his daugh- J.C. 1675. ters and the circumcifion of his two fons. He had had the last by a young odalisk that Fatma, of a daughthe favorite sultaness, had attempted to kill by ter of the emperor's. means of ill treatment, because Cadisja (that was finn of two the name of the young victim), who had been princes. brought up among the waiting-women of the fultaness, had made this jealous mistress fear that she would foon ravish the emperor's heart from her. Mahomet, more occupied with the government of his haram than the affairs of the empire, prepofferfed too with a rifing paffion for this woman who had been treated with fo much inhumanity, gave her in the haram and in his heart the place of her persecutress, and banished the latter to the old feraglio. He had had by her one for and one daughter; and a fecond fon by Cadisja. This child became foon as dear to the emperor as its mother. Mahomet chose Kul Ogli his favorite, at that time bashaw of Magnesia, and whom he had loaded with favors, to ally him to his blood. It was just that this honor, which costs those so dear on whom the fultans are pleafed to confer it, should fall on a favorite loaded with the kindnesses of this prince, and who had no other merit than being in his good graces. The prefents, which the hufband of the princess sent to the seraglio in pomp, were of much greater value than any that had ever been made before on a like occasion. Mahomet gave as valuable ones, which were carried before Mm VOL. III. the

J.C. 1675. the fultaness when she repaired with a great retinue to the palace intended for her. The Turkish festivals principally consist in illuminations and fire-works. This nation, naturally fober, is very little acquainted with entertainments. Tho' there are fome drunkards among the Musfulmen, it is only in fecret that they indulge themselves in wine. Their dances and forts of dramas are executed in the harams only, because all these amusements are very dissolute. These people, though fo grave, know no bounds in their pleafures; if we except some combats which are fomething like our tournaments, all their plays shock decency; all the Turks too, who don't refign themselves to an excess of libertinism, are very austere in their manners. After the celebration of the nuptials of the young fultaness, the general attention was taken up with the festivals that preceded and followed the circumcifion of the two princes. These last, more magnificent than the former, far from being an expence to the public treasury, filled it with a great deal of gold. It was customary for those who have some post, whether civil or military, timarians, or fervants of the feraglio, belonging to the emperor or to some of the imperial family, to make a present in proportion to their riches or the place which they hold. The circumcision of the grand seignior's children is confidered as one of the resources of the state.

The advantage which Mahomet reaped from J.C. 1675. this ceremony was counterbalanced by the lofs which he met with foon after, of the man who Death of Kiuperli. perhaps had been most useful to the Turkish empire fince its foundation. Kiuperli had just prevailed on his master to return to Constantinople, notwithstanding the partiality which this prince always had for Adrianople; he had convinced him, that, not only the feraglio of Byzantium was in the finest fituation possible, and alone worthy by its magnificence and extent to receive the emperor of the East, but that it was politic for a monarch to relide in the capital of his dominions, always richer and more confiderable when the prince keeps his court there. Mahomet, docile to the advice of his minister, set out on his journey; but Kiuperli was fo ill that, not being able to get on horseback, he went by water as far as Selivrea, after which he made his delis carry him in a litter from thence to the town of Charlu. where she violence of his malady constrained him to ftop. In the last moments of this great man, an iman having prefented him with an Alcoran to fay his prayers, Kiuperli, placing his hand on the book of the law, exclaimed: " Prophet, I shall " foon know if thou have faid the truth; but " truth or not, I am not allowed to do evil to " my fellow creatures; I have on the contrary " endeavoured to do all the good in my power, " and I trust in God the fountain of justice and " mercy." This minister died aged forty-seven Mm 2 VOL. III. years.

J.C. 1675. years, after having governed fifteen with as much fagacity as fuccess. It is not unlikely that a lon-Hiseulogy ger ministry would have changed the manners of these people, to whom Kiuperli gave the example

these people, to whom Kiuperli gave the example of virtues little known in the East. His inflexible feverity always tended to maintain order and spare blood; his bravery was never cruel, and his love of humanity made him constantly prefer the good of the public to that of his mafter: or rather, Kiuperli was convinced, that the interest of the monarch, properly understood, is inseparable from that of his people. As a great general, he terminated the long Candian war by the conquest of that island; took Kaminieck, the key to Poland, and one of the strongest places in the whole world; imposed a tribute on that kingdom; reduced the Ukraine; and gained over the Cossacks, who had 'till then been the enemies of the Ottoman empire. As a wife minister, he knew how to keep the different military corps in subjection, so turbulent under his predecessors; he employed the soldiers to enlarge the limits of the empire, which they had often rent; he maintained, both in the administration of the state and in the exercise of justice, the greatest order and most invariable equity; he managed the finances with œconomy notwithstanding his master's inclination to distipate them; in fhort, he fustained the sceptre in hands too feeble for its support, with a dignity 'till then unknown among the Turks.

Cara Mustapha, his brother-in-law, who had J.C. 1675. filled the place of caimacan during the whole fiege Cara Musof Candia and whilft the court refided at Adria- tapha is nople, was chosen by Mahomet to succeed Kiu- made grand perli. This was a favor which the fultan granted the room of Kiuperli. to the memory of that great man, who had always appeared to esteem his brother-in-law, and who had intrusted him with part of the government. Mahomet bestowed another mark of respect on the family of this illustrious minister: though the chattels of the viziers and bashaws belong to the treasury after their death, the fultan thought he ought to leave the children of this great minister the produce of those labours which had been so serviceable to him.

This year the war was carried on in Poland War in by the Turks with more cruelty than fuccess. Poland. Sobieski, too great not to excite envy, had not been able to prevail on his countrymen to furnish him with the forces necessary to repulse the enemy which he had already vanquished; he led, against a considerable army, the few regular troops that his enemies, who affected to fear him, had been unable to take from him. The ferafkier Ibrahim, by his incapacity, knew not how to take advantage of the superiority of his number. The Turks, instead of attacking the little army of Sobieski, went to besiege some inconsiderable places which still held for the Poles on the confines of the Ukraine and Podolia: they put to death women and children, unmercifully butchering

J.C. 1675. butchering the inhabitants of the towns, fometimes because they had defended themselves too much, at other times because they had treacheroufly delivered up their governor who refused to furrender. The seraskier Ibrahim, after having loft much time and a great many men, fent Nuradin, the fon of the khan of the Tartars, to attack Sobieski with a detachment very superior to the army of the latter. The king beat this detachment; twelve thousand Poles killed more than fifteen thousand Tartars, and put those to flight that the night enveloped in its obscurity. The king of Poland, advancing at the head of his victorious, little army, forced Ibrahim to raife the fiege of Trambula, affailed by more than forty thousand men. The new grand vizier Cara Mustapha, mortified at the difgrace which the Ottomans had met with, refolved to give the command of a more confiderable force the next cam-

Sobieski obtains some few fuccours from his subjects. Sobieski, whose valour and talents, after having kindled envy, ought of course to excite admiration, taught his subjects, by what he had done with so few men, what he was capable of doing with an army more numerous. Even those, who had refused troops to the king, were convinced that it was time to succour this exhausted kingdom; but though the sight of its present wants had wrested from the diet the promise of a hundred thousand men, they could never furnish the king with more than thirty-eight

paign to a better general.

eight thousand. The allied crowns, who were J.C. 1675. folicited for subsidies, offered only their mediation for a peace. All the provinces felt the effects of the incursions of the Turks, or the recent horrors of civil war; this unfortunate republic, after having rent its own bosom, could not find wherewithal to repel the enemy. But he, who had beaten eighty thousand men with twelve thousand Poles, hoped with thirty-eight thousand men to be able to resist two hundred thousand, for the Turks had not set a less army on foot. Mahomet and his vizier had given the command of this numerous army, in which there were eighty thousand Tartars, to another Ibrahim furnamed Shaitan, which fignifies Devil, because this bashaw had always made war with great cruelty.

Sobieski viewed the country which he was to J.C. 1676. defend more with the eyes of a monarch than a He congeneral. He resolved to remove the seat of war ducts them to the conto the extremity of the Polish dominions, in order fines of Poto favor the inner part of his kingdom already he keeps a too much desolated. Without attempting to op- army of Turks at pose the march of the Turks, who kept along the bay. borders of the Niester, he passed that river at a distance from them, and conducted his army with great celerity to the neighbourhood of Surawnow, a hamlet of Pokusia at the confluence of the Suwits and the Niester. As he knew very well that he should be pursued, he lost not a moment to intrench himself in a camp already fortified

J.C. 1676. fortified by nature. Having learned that the Turkish army was coming after him, he passed the Suwits with his cavalry only, charged the advanced guard of the Turks who were still on their march, threw them back on the centre with loss, and had time to repass the river before this numerous army could range themselves in battle.

> Meanwhile the Polish infantry made the most of their time. On Sobieski's return to his camp, he found the fortifications finished; and he saw himself at the head of his army as in a strong town where all the inhabitants were foldiers. And indeed, Ibrahim made his dispositions as if for a siege; on his arrival near the Polish camp, he extended his troops in the form of a bow of which the Niester made the cord. He sent Nuradin, the son of the khan of the Tartars, with forty thousand men to the other side of the river, to block up all the communications, either for convoys or recruits, in short, for every kind of fuccour. During seventeen days there were continual skirmishes, in which the Poles had the advantage as often as the Turks. Sobieski, constantly employed in encouraging his foldiers, fent out parties from his intrenchments to attack parties of the enemy. Though his provisions began to fail, he had the boldness to propose articles of peace, as if he had been at least equal in forces. Two general officers were fent to the khan of the Tartars: "We come," faid they to him, " to folicit your mediation. If the Turks will " restore

"restore us our towns, particularly Kaminieck, J.C. 1676.
"evacuate the Ukraine, and resrain from pro"tecting the Cossacks; the king and the republic
"are ready to ratify a peace by oath." The
Tartar having carried this proposal to the seraskier, the latter, irritated at so much audacity, resused to make any reply.

As the ferafkier was unable to force the Poles in their intrenchments, and his troops could reap no advantage from their number in thus fighting by piece-meal, he refolved to open trenches and erect batteries as before a fortified town. Sobieski caused counter-trenches to be digged. Battles were fought under the earth, and the war of a fiege was carried on in an open country. The Poles began to want ammunition as well as The Tartars blocked up their rear as the Turks did their front and flanks; nothing was able to enter. All the officers and foldiers. who wanted fustenance both for themselves and their horses, wished heartily for a general action, in order to put an end to fo many diffresses by victory or death. Sobieski, who held in a small space the last resources and the destiny of Poland, hefitated to give battle; he knew that all the powers of Europe, in friendship with the grand feignior, were negotiating a peace; he did not doubt that the khan of the Tartars was greatly afraid lest Poland should become a province of the Ottoman empire, and that he wished to treat with the feraskier, who, he knew, had full powers from Nn VOL. III.

Heg. 1087.

C. 1676. from the Porte; but he would rather lose his crown than confent to the difgraceful tribute which the feeble king Michael had been fo much reproached with. Two bashaws, followed by twenty-four officers of the janissaries, came to the camp to conjure the king to spare the remains of his army, and not to facrifice his country to the chimerical hope of faving it from a tribute already Sobieski was inflexible; he had only these words in his mouth, vanquish or Die. At length, as there were no more provisions left than which the for four days, it was highly necessary not to weaken his foldiers by hunger and all the extremities of want: Sobieski was considering of an order of battle to fall on the Turks and open himself a paffage through them. This perilous work was fixed for the next day, the thirty-first of October, when, fortunately, Ibrahim's deputies returned to offer more favorable conditions. The ferafkier had received letters from Constantinople, which ordered him to put an end to this war in which the European powers threatened to take part. He had also received intelligence that Russia was arming to fuccour Poland: in short, when Sobieski faw the bashaws again who, two days before, had told him that he would have to reproach himfelf with the destruction of the republic, the loss of his throne, and all the blood that was about to be spilt, he had the address to dissemble his joy and appear more difficult than at the former confe-

rence. The Turkish officers having proposed,

Extremities to Polish army is reduced.

by way of preliminary, that the Poles should en- J.C. 1676. Heg. 1087. gage to fend an army against the Russians who were coming to their affiftance, and repel with arms any attempts which that nation might make against the fultan; Sobieski received with indignation a proposition fo disgraceful. The deputies did not persist in their demand, and as to the tribute it was no longer talked of; the division of the lands was folely in dispute. After a rather long discussion, Sobieski, thoroughly resolved not to let the deputies return without coming to some conclusion, agreed that the republic of Poland should leave the Cossacks one third of the Ukraine, and that these people should continue to live under the protection of the grand feignior; that Kaminieck, Jaslouwiecz, and some other places in Podolia, should be confirmed to the Turks, which in confequence would always preferve them a footing in Poland; that the prisoners should be restored on both sides, and that the king and republic should fend a solemn embassy to the Porte for the ratification of this treaty. The conditions Peace conbeing carried to the ferafkier Ibrahim were figned tween the the fame day: the latter only added, that the plenipoten-tiary and ambassador chosen should be worthy, by the no-the king. bleness of his person and demeanor, to appear before the greatest monarch in the world. The king proposed Andrew Zaluski, the grand cupbearer, who had followed him to the army, which was agreed to. The Turks confider figure as of great importance in filling a post; they fay, VOL. III. Nn2 that

J.C. 1676. that a fordid mind or a base heart is seldom found in a well made person. All the boys that are admitted into the icoglans, and who are intended afterward for the first posts of the empire, are chosen from among the best formed; and if they should afterward be afflicted with any blemish, they are removed out of the odas.

> The ferafkier, who, as we have already faid, had full powers, granted likewise that the Roman catholics should again have possession of the Holy fepulchre; but this article, so often agreed to, was always eluded, the viziers replying constantly to the French ambassador and the rest: "What " difference can it be to you whether your monks " or those of the Greeks guard this church, fince " your pilgrims have always liberty to go there " and adore their God?" The Infidels did not know that (in the opinion of the Roman catholics) this God rejects the facrifices of those whom -they had made trustees of his temple. Thus Sobieski, with the few remaining forces of his exhausted country, had the glory to repair the honor of his crown, difgraced by his feeble predecessor, and to terminate a war which had desolated Poland for many years. The judicious author of his life remarks, that, only three days were employed to pacify the two nations, and that fix months were taken to regulate the ceremony to be observed with respect to the ambasfador that brought the ratification of the treaty.

> > The

The grand vizier, Mustapha, the haughtiest J.C. 1677. that had ever yet been invested with this first dignity of the empire, had just refused Mr. De-Mr. De-nointel, nointel, the French ambassador, an audience, the French ambassabecause that minister had demanded to have his dor, meets with diffifeat placed, according to ancient custom, on the culties in his cerefame carpet with that of the grand vizier. Muf- monial. tapha wanted to make several of the ambassador's fervants pay the caratche or poll tax, which all the Christians and Jews that inhabit the dominions of the emperor of the East are subject to. Whilft the whole Porte was refounding with the just complaints and resistance of Mr. Denointel, the grand cup-bearer, Zaluski, arrived at Darud Bashaw with a retinue of seven hundred Poles. He stopped at this pleasure-house of the The Polith emperor's in order to have the grand vizier in- ambaffador demands formed of his coming; and he wrote, that the honors that ambassador of the king and republic of Poland him. expected the prime minister of the Ottoman empire to come and receive him at the gates of Constantinople. One might well suppose, that he, who durst refuse Lewis XIV., at that time in the height of his glory, what was due to his ambaffador, would not grant honors 'till then unknown, to the minister of an exhausted power which had submitted to pay tribute to the Porte. The haughty Mustapha replied: "If this Infidel " ftay 'till I come and feek him, he is likely to " remain long enough to be buried at Darud Bashaw, with all his retinue." The ambassador having

J.C. 1677. having defired subsistence for seven hundred Poles who composed his train, Mustapha answered: " If he mean to take Constantinople, he has not " enough feven hundreds men with him: if he " comes as an ambaffador only, he is mad to bring " fuch a retinue after him. But, however, fince we " maintain already seven thousand of these Poles " as flaves on board our galleys, we will make or no difficulty of feeding an additional feven " hundred of them." All these discussions and vain formalities of ceremony would have rekindled the war, if Sobieski, who knew better than his ambassador the real state of his kingdom, the value of human blood, and the frivolousness of these pretensions, had not ordered Zaluski to enter Constantinople and receive his audience of the grand feignior, on which depended the confummation of the treaty, and to raise no more difficulties about the ceremony. The ambaf-He makes his entry fador thought to honor his master and his counby order of his master, try by displaying in this solemn entry a magnificence 'till then without example. The shoes of his horses were of filver, and fastened on with two nails only, fo that, falling off by the way, they might be picked up by the mob. This prodigality was remarked as Zaluski wished. One of these extraordinary shoes was carried to the grand vizier. "This Giaur," faid Cara Muftapha, " shoes his horses with filver; but he " must have a leaden head, since, sent by a poor " republic,

" republic, he thus lavishes what they can so J.C. 1677. " badly afford to give him."

Mustapha had the same authority as his predecessor, but was far from possessing the same abilities. The monarch, as fond as ever of the chase, which drew him often from his palace for whole weeks together, necessarily abandoned the reins of government to hands much less skilful than those of that illustrious grand vizier. insupportable pride of Cara Mustapha spoiled every thing that the address of Kiuperli, his firmness and love of the public welfare, had done. The new feudatories of the Porte, the Coffacks, Mustapha were displeased at being deprived of the best the ethman places in the Ukraine by the last treaty. Being of the Coffacks by his become enemies of the Poles, they did not re-haughti-ness and ceive from the Turks sufficient succours to repel harshness. the infults of those neighbours, who considered them always as revolted subjects. Dorozensko, their ethman, who prevailed on his countrymen to folicit the protection of the Turks, went to Constantinople, with intention to obtain from Cara Mustapha wherewithal to fortify the places still left him, and indemnify him for those which he had loft. The ethman met with nothing but refusals, harsh expressions, and even threats, inflead of the protection, honors, and indemnities, that he had expected. Enraged at this treatment, This prince he returned into that part of the Ukraine which was his subjects left him, and persuaded the Cossacks, whom he to seek the accused himself of having deceived in the same of Russia.

J.C. 1677. manner as he had been, by procuring them such faithless allies, or rather such bad masters, to folicit the protection of the czar of Muscovy. In a general affembly of the nation, they wrote to the czar a letter full of submission, and offers of the most constant fidelity. The Cossacks begged pardon of that prince for having thought of entering into an alliance with the Turks. They promifed him to defend his frontiers for the future against this haughty nation, and all the enemies of the Russian empire. One of them, called Theodore Alexis, was fent to the fovereign of Russia with this proposition, which could not but be very agreeable to him. This new alliance, or rather conquest which the czar made without striking a blow, extended the frontiers of his dominions beyond the Borifthenes, and gave him foldiers of a valour proof against all manner of danger and great patience in the fatigues of war. He received the Cossack envoy with marks of the greatest satisfaction. He promised his countrymen the most constant protection, and contented himself with so slight a tribute, that he feemed to accept it merely to authenticate the vaffalage. The grand vizier was greatly chagrined on hearing of this defection, which he could impute to no one but himself. Seeking too late to fave the expence and hazards of a war, he refolved to fend the Coffacks a new ethman, whose ancestors had been ever dear to them.

Cara Mustapha took from the dungeons of the J.C. 1677. Seven Towers, George, the fon of Bogdan the ethman of the Cossacks who was killed in fight- tapha takes ing against Poland. The people had elected this seven fon without the Porte's knowing any thing of it. Towers another Revolutions too long to be related had at length ethman to fet up a-conducted him to the prison of the Seven Towers. gainst the former Six months before his deliverance, this prince one. had attempted to escape from a too rigorous captivity. He had cut the carpets which ferved him for a bed into bands, and, having made a fort of rope of them, had, by the aid of this fuccour, flidden down from the top of the walls of his prison. The rope not being sufficiently long, he was obliged to precipitate himself from a confiderable height, and, being wounded in falling, was eafily retaken by the boftangis who guarded the Seven Towers. This unfortunate prince, bruifed by his fall, was also severely whipped, and dragged into a dungeon, where he was chained by the middle of the body. After being fix months in this place, defigned for the greatest criminals and lowest slaves, George was taken from thence by the vizier, to receive the vest of sable and the robe of command, in quality of ethman of the Cossacks. Prince Cantimir affures us, that it was with difficulty he could be prevailed on to accept it. The Porte having given him an establishment worthy of one of the first vassals of the empire, he fent one of his countrymen with letters to the principal Coffacks, 00

VOL. III.

in

J.C. 1677. in which he treated Dorozensko as a rebel and a traitor, exhorting the subjects of his father to acknowledge the fon of their old master for ethman, who was honored with the investiture of the Porte. The man charged with this negotiation was badly received by the Cosfacks. The offers which the fultan made by this fame envoy. to give money to fortify places, were rejected with difdain, and the negotiator had great difficulty to fave himself from the refentment of Dorozensko, who would not respect the law of nations in the person of an emissary sent to dethrone him.

T.C. 1678.

The czar fent the troops, destined to succour Heg. 1089. Poland, to protect his new vassals. Whilst Cara Mustapha was flattering himself with causing the ethman that he had just taken from the Seven Towers to be acknowledged, he learned that eighty thousand men, Russians and Cosfacks, lined the confines of the Ukraine. The khan of the Tartars and Ibrahim Shaitan were ordered to march against these pretended rebels: the new ethman, who had not learned to command armies in his dungeon, was intrusted to the bashaw. Ibrahim Shaitan did not acquit himself better than a Turks are prince without experience might have done; for having learned that the Tartars who were to join him had been beaten by Dorozensko before The grand this junction could be formed, he rashly marched makes new against the enemy and, having exposed himself to be attacked in a difadvantageous fituation, by

The Tartars and beaten by the Ruffians and Coffacks. Tizier efforts

against them.

fians

an army greatly superior to his own both in num- J.C. 1678. ber and courage, was cut to pieces, without having given the Coffacks and Ruffians any other trouble, than to purfue and butcher men who made no defence. The news of this shameful defeat, being arrived at Constantinople, put the whole city into a consternation. Under the ministry of Kiuperli, Mahomet had not been accustomed to misfortunes, and the haughty Cara Mustapha saw with grief the Ottoman troops beaten by the rebels that he had meant to punish. He proposed in the divan to prepare new forces, to repair the diffrace of the Ottoman arms, though the mufti and the bashaws of the bench were all for leaving these people quiet, who were not formerly vaffals of the Porte, and who belonged more to the Ruffians than the Otto-Cara Mustapha obstinately maintained, that the promise made the ethman George, the fon of Bogdan, ought to be kept, and that a prince, who was honored with the investiture of the Porte, could not lose his fovereignty without he were guilty of rebellion; that the janisfaries were neither less brave nor less under command than they had been in the preceding wars, and that the dignity of the empire required that they should not quit their arms 'till they were vanquishers. Mahomet, accustomed to let himself be governed by a vizier, liftened to Cara Mustapha with all the attention that he had formerly devoted to Kiuperli. The war against the Rus-002 VOL. III.

J.C. 1679. fians and Coffacks was continued with more activity than ever. The winter was taken up in preparations, and Cara Mustapha succeeded to wrest his master from the arms of effeminacy, to shew him at the head of the army which he was himself preparing to command.

J.C. 1679. Heg. 1090. They are not more fuccessful.

Mahomet reviewed the troops levied against the Russians, and set out at the head of seventy thousand men, janissaries and asaps, and thirty thousand timarians and spahis. It was thought that he was going to the war, and he perfuaded himfelf fo; but as foon as he arrived at Tartarpazarjik, a town of Thrace fituated in the middle of a large, thick forest, he would not advance further; but, leaving the command of the army to his grand vizier, prepared to make war with the wild beafts, Cara Mustapha had shewn himself a bad politician in displeasing the Coffacks, and in undertaking a war which he might have avoided. He proved that he was not a better general of an army; the first fault that he committed was to divide his troops, under pretence of being the better able to find provisions for them, thus offering feveral small bodies to Ramanouski the Russian general, who constantly opposed his whole army to the different Ottoman corps, which he beat one after another in fenny ground. Moreover, this country, poor and already desolated, did not afford sufficient nourishment for the Turks so long accustomed to abundance, Peffilential exhalations arose from

the marshes, which soon caused a sickness in the J.C. 1679. army, that carried off more men than fire and fword. The grand vizier, after having feen all his troops beaten by piece-meal, made a fingle conquest that became fatal to him. He had befieged Tcherin the capital of a small province still belonging to the Cosfacks; this town, badly fortified, and poor, like the rest of the Ukraine, was not worth the men that would have been loft in its defence. The Russian general, who had relieved it on one fide, after having beaten the beliegers, thought it best to evacuate it; but, in order to render the departure of the garrison fatal to the Turks, he charged feveral mines already digged, and took care to have fire fet to them just as the Turks were entering in a crowd. In short, Cara Mustapha, unfortunate every where, reassembled the broken remains of his army, and returned to Thrace, thoroughly refolved to liften to proposals of peace, which were offered him by the czar, as he had expected. He abandoned the Coffacks to their new mafter, choosing rather to lofe vaffals who would not fubmit to the yoke of the Ottomans, than the provinces of the empire bordering on these dangerous neighbours. Mahomet returned to Constantinople at the head of part of his army. Though he had not commanded it, those, who had marched against the enemy, had not acquired more glory than himself. Cara Mustapha, in this unfortunate campaign, had neither increased his credit with

J.C. 1679. his mafter or the people, still less with the soldiers, who had been witnesses and victims of his incapacity. But the diflike of the grand feignior for every kind of business, and the habit that he had contracted in the time of the preceding viziers, continued to furnish the present one with a number of occasions to satisfy his caprice and avidity.

Injustice done the English by the grand vizier.

J.C. 1680.

Mustapha learned, that an English merchant, who was very old, had married a young Greek girl with the hope of leaving an heir. As this merchant was very rich, the grand vizier did not Heg. 1091. despair of getting possession of his fortune.* He got a catcherif from the grand feignior, whose hand he guided, which declared, that all foreigners who should marry subjects of the Porte, should become subjects themselves. What the grand vizier had foreseen, really happened; the old man died within the year. As his marriage had produced no fruit, he made a will in his last moments, by which he appointed two merchants of his nation, trustees of his fortune 'till it should be known if his wife were with child or not. the first case he requested his executors to bring up the child that should be born, and be the guardians of its patrimony; in the fecond, he defired them to divide his fortune between his widow and friends, in the manner that he made

known

^{*} There is no collateral succession in Turkey; the children alone, whether males or females, are the heirs of their parents; the possessions of those, who die without children, go to the emperor.

known to them. As foon as this man's eyes J.C. 1680. Heg. 1091. were closed, his executors, who were afraid of the grand vizier, conveyed away the effects with which they were intrusted. Cara Mustapha, irritated, began with having the widow shut up in his own haram, where she was for ever removed from fight: after which he condemned the two trustees to pay the same day to the desterdar a much more confiderable fum than that which the old man's fortune amounted to. In vain did the English ambassador claim the natural law which forbids the giving of an ex post facto effect to rigorous ordinances, and the law of nations, by which a monarch cannot be deprived, without his confent, of the subjects given him by nature; the grand vizier was deaf and the fultan inacceffible. The unfortunate trustees offered in vain to furrender the effects which they were feized of by virtue of the will of the testator: they were dragged into dungeons, where they remained 'till they had paid the fum which they had been fo unjustly condemned to. This law was not put in execution after the death of Mustapha; but sir Finch, at that time ambaffador from England, could never obtain the repeal of it in the life time of that minister. The unjust grand vizier, in order to put a stop to the importunities of the ambassador, made use of a wile that exposed him to the whole nation. The ambaffador having in a particular audience made a quotation from the trea-

J.C. 1680. ties between the Porte and England in support of what he was advancing, the grand vizier feigned furprise, and defired to see the original. When the treaty was brought by one of the English druggermen, he made a pretext for feizing it, and replied to the ambaffador, who earnestly demanded it, that it contained several articles contrary to the laws of the empire and the majesty of the Ottoman throne; and that the ambaffador must confent to their abrogation, if the English would in future enjoy the other articles. The ambaffador, having affembled his countrymen, received fome reproaches from them for having intrusted this perfidious Musfulman with what was the security of all the English in the different factories. All the Christian ministers were ready to take part in this quarrel; when a fum of fifty purfes, making three thousand one hundred and twentyfive pounds sterling, was furnished unanimously by the English merchants, to whom the time confumed in negotiations was a great prejudice. Mustapha, who was afraid lest the remonstrances of the ambaffadors should raise a storm in the divan which he might not perhaps have the power to allay, contented himfelf with this fum, joined to the fine imposed on the two testamentary executors already mentioned.

The English were not the only people that the grand vizier wanted to oppress; Mr. Deguillerague, the new French ambassador, come to fucceed

fucceed Mr. Denointel, had two quarrels at once J.C. 1680. Heg. 1091. with this haughty minister. The first was the fame as had been begun with Mr. Denointel, and which had caused that ambassador to withdraw without taking leave; the matter in dispute was, to know in what place the feat of the French ambaffador should be placed at the grand vizier's audience. Lewis XIV. confidered it of fuch great importance, that he expressly forbade his minister to go near him, unless his feat were placed as it always ought to have been on an equality with Cara Mustapha's. The Ottoman and French druggermen were continually going between the two ministers, carrying or refusing propofals; and they exhaufted themselves to feek expressions that might not shock the ears of the two courts. But a much more confiderable event was like to break off all alliance between France and the Ottoman empire.

The celebrated Duquefne, cruifing with a fqua- Infult ofdron in the Archipelago against the corfairs drawn fered the thither in great number by the merchant-men, fell Scio by the French. in with two from Tripoli which had time to take How repaired. shelter in the port of Scio belonging to the Turks. The French squadron began by blocking up the port; Duquesne was unwilling to be the first to commit an act of hostility; but, after two days, as the Tripolines feemed determined not to come out, the French commodore, who knew them to be loaded with a great deal of merchandise taken from the Christians, resolved to enter the port. VOL. III. Pp

J.C. 1680. As the cannon from the castle of Scio fired on the squadron, Duquesne replied with a superior fire; he attacked and took the Tripoline vessels in the middle of the port, put the crews in chains, and, having towed the vessels out of the harbour, emptied them of every thing that could be carried away, and then funk them in fight of Scio. On these news, the grand vizier, who had not vet seen the French ambassador, ordered his palace to be invested, and fent him word, that he was going to be conducted to the Seven Mr. Deguillerague replied, that the grand feignior was too just, and his minister too prudent, to do any thing against the French ambassador; that as for the rest, he would the more readily confent not to go out of his palace, as he ought not to fee any one, not having yet received an audience either of the emperor or of the grand vizier. The Turkish officer, fent to make inquiries on the spot, reported, that the French were the aggressors, as they had attempted to take, in a friendly ports veffels that ought to have enjoyed the protection of the fovereign in whose dominions they had taken shelter. The grand vizier was already thinking of the war which he made the following year with the western empire. He was afraid to treat the French ambassador with so much rigour as he had at first threatened; but he demanded seven hundred purses from him, which make forty-three thousand seven hundred and

and fifty pounds fterling, for reparation of the LC. 1680. damages done the port of Scio, and the injury that the Tripolines had received. This negotiation, which was very long and rather sharp, was terminated by a proceeding of Mr. Deguillerague's that might have loft him the favor of his master, if kings did not voluntarily pardon those temerities which bring them fuccess. The ambaffador counterfeited a letter from Lewis XIV. addressed to the grand seignior, in which that prince blamed his commodore for having violated the afylum of a friendly port; and he informed the grand feignior, that his minister at the Porte was charged to remit feven thousand five hundred pounds fterling to the grand vizier, which he, the king of France, had condemned the authors of this infult to pay. Severe complaints were also made in this letter against the prime minister's refusing the French ambassador, without any reason, a place on his fofa, which had always been customary ever fince France had kept ministers at the Porte. This letter, which no way humbled Lewis XIV. and fatisfied the Turks in part, had all the effect TheFrench ambassador which Mr. Deguillerague had expected. had an audience of the grand feignior, who re-dience of ceived the disavowal of the king of France, and vizier the the indemnity to which that prince appeared to which had been rehave condemned the officers whose conduct he fused his blamed. The grand vizier at length restored the for. French and other ambaffadors of crowned heads Pp2 VOL. III.

He recovers at the au-

Heg. 1091.

J.C. 168c. the honors which his caprice and haughtiness had made him refuse them.

> Though Mahomet IV. always permitted Cara Mustapha to manage the great affairs of state as he pleased, his favor began to decline; and the first officers of the divan, perceiving it, took every opportunity of fetting the grand feignior against him. The musti thought he had found an occasion of doing it effectually, on account of a transgression of the law of Mahomet, which the avidity of the grand vizier authorised in Constantinople, because it brought a great deal of money into his own pocket. The Alcoran, as it is well known, not only forbids the use of wine, but likewise of every kind of fermented liquor. In all places where the law of Mahomet is observed, cyder and beer are as much prohibited as the juice of the grape. The grand vizier contrived to permit a liquor extracted from millet-feed, called boza, equally as fermented as beer and much like it, to be fold in Constantinople, under pretence that boza had never been forbidden by the Alcoran or the fetfa of any of the ancient caliphs. The grand vizier's kiaia* had charge of these public houses, and seemed

Prohibition of Boza.

more

^{*} The kiaia is a fort of substitute, or lieutenant, very inferior to the minister or general whom he affists. Every great officer has a kiaia, who is entirely dependant on him. The grand vizier's kiaia is very different from the caimacan, who really represents the grand vizier in his absence, and is invested with all his authority by the emperor, instead of which, the kiaia holds his mission of the officer only that he is to aid in the execution of his offices.

more attentive to the making of a profit of them J.C. 1680. than to their being well regulated. The streets of Constantinople in a little time were full of drunkards; for the Turks have never been able to drink without getting intoxicated. The mufti and all the ulema strongly remonstrated to the grand feignior against this abuse, which was increasing every day; they afferted, that Cara Mustapha authorifed it, and that the officers of the police had no power over these public houses, as the vizier's kiaia openly protected them. These complaints greatly incensed the emperor; he fent for the grand vizier, less to hear his reasons than to shew him his displeasure. The mufti and the bashaws of the bench were in hopes that Cara Mustapha would be deposed; but fome faithful fervants having given him advice of what was going forward, the minister did not hesitate to facrifice his kiaia to allay the storm. This unfortunate man was fecretly strangled The grand immediately, notwithstanding his cries and pro- vizier satestations of not having done any thing but by kiaia to fave himthe express order of the man who durst condemn self from him, to whom he had carried all the money gained by the public houses where the boza was fold. Cara Mustapha appeared before the emperor, only to affure him that he had remedied the disorder of which the musti had reason to. complain, and that the protector of these scandalous public houses was no more. The grand vizier, having escaped this danger, thought, that a longer

that it was necessary to remove from the ear of the prince several powerful enemies whom his arrogance and injustices had raised him up.

Diforders and revolutions in Hungary.

Though Cara Mustapha had not acquired much glory in the war against Poland, he would rather risk the honor of the Ottoman arms, in order to expose his enemies to dangers that might perhaps deliver him from them, than leave them to make use of their address with the emperor to raise themselves on his ruins. The occasion was favorable. The Hungarians were earnestly soliciting the Turks to fuccour them against the emperor of the West, who was treating them as rebels. Almost all the privileges of this nation were annihilated. The progress of Lutheranism occasioned persecutions. Counts Nadasti, Serini, and Frangipani, had loft their heads on a scaffold, martyrs to their country. Count Tekli had perished the last in arms; and the Hungarians, after having groaned thirteen years under a yoke which their weakness had not permitted them to shake off, faw with transport an avenger spring up from the ashes of these heroes that they had so much bewailed. This was the young Emery, count Tekli, the fon of the last mentioned nobleman. He was grand-fon, by his mother, to count Nadasti, and had been betrothed from infancy to the daughter of count Serini. Emery Tekli had escaped from the castle in which he had been confined a long time, and where he had feen his father-

trate

father-in-law perish near him. His love for his J.C. 1680. country, and the courage which he had already shewn in a tender age, added to the misfortunes of his family and his own, rendered him fo dear to the Hungarians, that, at the found of his name only, a number of warriors of his own age, who had all a father to avenge, left their homes and proclaimed Tekli their general, and almost their mafter. This chief, already illustrious, conducted himfelf with all the prudence of confummate age and all the activity of eager youth. With those whom he called his friends, and some Transylvanian troops, he kept the field three years against the Austrian army: His own increafed every day, either by Polish foldiers, whom the peace with Turkey forced to feek employment, or by countrymen whom the Austrian feverity constrained to desert in troops, to unite themselves to those who were stiled the avengers of their country. Tekli had caused to be written in letters of gold on feveral pair of colours: Pro aris & focis. He led against the enemy foldiers whom he did not pay, who, for the most part, believing themselves the defenders of their religion and homes, brought with them every thing that they possessed, to contribute to the subfistence of themselves and their companions, and to pay the mercenary foldiers who shared their labours. Enthusiasm and union supplied the place of discipline. In three years Tekli beat the Austrians fix times; his fuccefs had enabled him to pene-

J.C. 1680. trate into Moravia. He was already menacing Austria, when the court of Vienna undertook to deceive these men whom they despaired of vanquishing. They proposed to Tekli to restore him all the possessions that had belonged to his family, to grant liberty of conscience to all Hungary, and to re-establish these people in the major part of their privileges. A truce of three months, which the count willingly confented to, and which had caused him to be suspected by his party, was employed by the Austrians in making new forces advance and repairing the places that they were afraid of losing. Tekli foon perceived, by the evalions of the court of Vienna that they only wanted to gain time, and detach his friends from him. Whilft the emperor Leopold was affembling a diet at Sopron that might prove fatal to the malecontents by the fuccours which the monarch expected, Tekli received new propositions more advantageous than the first; but he learned, that those, who brought him promifes of peace, were fecretly endeavouring to deprive him of his liberty and perhaps his life. The chief of the malecontents folicited the protection of the grand feignior against enemies which he called usurpers and traitors. In vain did the diet appoint a palatine for Hungary pursuant to the request of the malecontents; in vain was Tekli offered the restoration of all his possessions and the Hungarians their privileges: they would no longer rely on masters who attempted

tempted to destroy them by affassinations; and, J.C. 1680. in order to preserve over them the advantage which they had owed only to their courage and The malegood conduct, they implored the fuccour of the folicit fuc-Porte.

the Porte.

In 1665, this power had, as we have feen, J.C. 1681, concluded a truce with the house of Austria for Heg. 1092, twenty years, four of which were yet unexpired. It feemed a matter worthy of the grand feignior to make himself arbitrator between a friendly prince and his revolted subjects, who might be in the right. When the grand vizier proposed in open divan to fend troops to count Tekli, vizier's there was a general opposition. Cara Ibrahim, declaring the premier bashaw of the bench, and the one the empewhom Cara Mustapha feared most, observed, west, is that the two empires were still bound by the opposed in faith of treaties; that the honor of the Ottoman name would not permit them to attack an ally who had not broken his engagements, and with whom a war might prove fatal to the Turks, as had already been feveral times experienced. The opinion of Cara Ibrahim coincided with that of the valid fultaness, who always preserved great influence over her fon, and over the members of the divan, in which feveral bashaws began to speak freely against the views of the grand vizier; and it was likewife that of the mufti. who declared, that treaties were facred at all times and with all people. Cara Mustapha replied, that it was the duty of a Musfulman prince

1825.

J.C. 1681, to extend the Mahometan faith whenever an & 1682. & 1093.

Heg. 1092, occasion presented itself; that the Hungarians feemed to folicit the yoke of the East; that Austria was so drained by the war with France and Sweden, that it offered the Porte a vast field for conquest; that the Ottoman empire should constantly endeavour to recover what had formerly composed the Roman empire; that the good state of the finances, and the bravery of the troops, seemed to invite to war a prince whose policy and religion were to conquer; and that there were always fufficient reasons for attacking the Infidels, when there was a prospect of victory. The grand vizier being desirous to obtain the approbation of the valid fultaness, added, that the puemalik or dower of that princess would be confiderably increased by the success of the Ottoman arms, as it was an ancient cultom always to give the fultaness-mother a portion of the land conquered.

Notwithflanding tion, the war is determined en.

What is more aftonishing in the conduct of the opposi- Cara Mustapha, is, that, after having prevailed on his master to declare war against the Austrians, he gave the command of ten thousand men, fent immediately to count Tekli, to Cara Ibrahim who had so violently opposed in the divan the breaking of the truce. The grand vizier was willing to remove this dangerous rival at any rate; and, in case the troops should be beaten, to make all the blame fall on him. Prior to the departure of the ten thousand men, a chiau was dispatched

dispatched to the emperor Leopold, to tell him, J.C. 1681, that as Tekli and the Hungarian nobility and Heg. 1092, gentry had implored the protection of the Ottoman empire, fultan Mahomet IV. required the emperor of the West to recall the German troops already arrived in Hungary, if he would not be thought an infringer of the truce. Leopold, having at that time a number of enemies on his hands, endeavoured to parry this blow, which the grand vizier alone had thought of making him. He sent a minister to the Porte, to demand the execution of the last treaty, and to represent, that he no way refused the Hungarians the justice which they affected to demand of him fword in hand, in order to cover their rebellion with a false pretext. When the emperor's ambaffador arrived, the ten thousand men commanded by Ibrahim bashaw had already marched for the frontiers. These, being joined by twelve thousand Tartars, formed a reinforcement for count Tekli capable of intimidating the Austrian garrisons: the Turks had even proclaimed this general, prince of Hungary. Andrew Caprara (that was the name of Leopold's ambaffador) negotiated a long time to no purpose. When it was known that Tekli had already taken feveral places, Cara Mustapha declared formally to this ambassador, that a peace between his master and the Porte was not to be hoped for, unless the emperor Leopold appointed Tekli palatine of Hungary, restored the Hungarian nobility and Qq2 VOL. III. gentry

J.C. 1681, gentry the privileges which he had taken from Heg. 1092, them, and consented that the western empire should pay the eastern an annual tribute of five hundred thousand florins. On this haughty anfwer, count Caprara proposed to retire; but the grand vizier retained him, according to the policy of the Turks, who always keep in their army the minister of the power with which they are at war, either to be in readiness for any conferences. with respect to peace, or as a hostage in case there should be room for reprifals. They fignified even to this ambaffador the treaty concluded between Tekli and the Porte. It contained in substance, that Tekli should be prince of Hungary; that his subjects should have liberty to elect another prince after his death; that the grand feignior should guaranty to the Hungarians all their ancient privileges, that he should defend them with all his forces, and not conclude any treaty with the house of Austria, without including them therein; that the Hungarians should have free liberty in future to trade to any part of Turkey; that the tribute which they should pay the Porte should never exceed forty thousand ducats, and that the prince of Hungary should keep a minister at the Porte as the other powers. Leopold, despairing to avert the storm gathering in the east, began to think seriously of the means to defend himself. He prevailed on the pope to form, between Poland and the empire, an alliance that should render these two powers powers the bulwark of Christendom. Innocent J.C. 1681, XI. always dreaded the attempts of the Infidels. Heg. 1092, He persuaded king John Sobieski that the emperor of the West would give prince James, his fon, an archduchefs in marriage, and that this premier monarch of the Christian world, empowered to make kings in Europe, would make use of all his power to render the sceptre of Poland hereditary in the family of Sobiefki. Count Valestin was sent to Warsaw, to conclude a treaty between the emperor of the West, and king John Sobieski and the republic of Poland. The two powers engaged not to make peace with the Porte, but in concert; and mutually to defend each other folely against the Turks, without this league's taking place against any other nation. The emperor agreed to keep feventy thousand men in the field, and twenty thousand in garrison; the king of Poland forty thousand, which he would command in person; and that if any of the other Christian kings or princes wished to join in this league, they should be admitted with the confent of the two powers. This treaty was confirmed at Rome in the beginning of the year 1683, and fworn to before the Pope by cardinal Pio, in the name of Leopold, and by cardinal Barberin, in the name of John Sobieski.

Meanwhile Caprara had been a witness at Constantinople of the greatest exertions in making preparation for war. The grand vizier, to please

Marriage of the grand vizier with emperor's

J.C. 1683. please his master, solicited him for one of the princesses his daughters in marriage, who was only eight years old. After this wedding, which was celebrated with all the customary expence one of the and pomp, the monarch and his grand vizier fet daughters. out for Adrianople, where the rendezvous of the army was. Several violent storms, which happened just at this time, were thought, by superstitious people, a presage that the expedition going forward would not be fortunate. The grand vizier's tent blown down by a whirlwind, and the horse that he most commonly rode killed by thunder, were confidered as figns of an approaching defeat; but the obstinacy, incapacity, and folly of this general, portended his misfortune with much more certainty than either the storm or the clap of thunder. The Turks halted some time in the environs of Adrianople, to give the Tartars, Was lachians, Moldavians, and Hungarians, who are tributaries of the Porte, time to join the army. When all these auxiliary troops were arrived, under the command of their respective sovereigns, the grand feignior was defirous of feeing them pass in review. A throne was erected on the Belgrade road, where the emperor feated himfelf The army, furrounded by all the pomp of the East. Two zear Adri- hundred and twenty thousand men filed off before him: never had the Turks displayed more magmarch un- nificence in horses, clothes, arms, and equipages. Four fovereigns, who were to ferve under the grand vizier, and more than twenty bashaws, both

affembled anople, begins its command of the grand vizier.

of the first and second order, were attended by a J.C. 1683. numerous retinue; fome of them even had brought their wives, with all the train which the magnificence and the jealoufy of the Ottomans make indispensable either with their wives or flaves. When all this pomp, more brilliant than formidable, had paffed before the grand feignior, he folemnly gave the command of it to his grand vizier, who came the last and kissed the bottom of the vest of his master and father-in-law. Mahomet exhorted all the fovereigns and bashaws that he had put under the command of Cara Mustapha to live united and obedient to their chief, after which he retook the road to Constantinople, hunting as he went along. Ibrahim, one of the creatures of the grand vizier, who was only fangiac of a fmall province, was made caimacan. All the bashaws whom Cara Mustapha had feared, and who were going against the enemy under his orders, envied the lot of this upftart, who was to govern the empire, whilft they should be exposed, under a general without experience, to dangers which every one looked upon as certain.

As foon as Mahomet had left his army, the The grand grand vizier conducted it towards Belgrade; and vizier prowhen he had passed the Save, he held a council march to Vienna: in a place called Effeck, to determine the opera- all his lieutenants options of the campaign. As it is much easier to pose this derign. conceive great projects than to execute them, Cara Mustapha was for marching strait to Vienna,

J.C. 1683 in order, as he faid, to attack the trunk of the tree at once, and get possession afterward of the branches with more facility. Tekli opposed this propofal in the council with great strength of argument. He represented the danger of crossing all Hungary and a great part of Germany with two hundred and twenty thousand men, leaving in their rear a number of fortified places, the garrifons of which would be continually harraffing the corps that it would be necessary to detach to fupply the wants of fuch a numerous army. He demonstrated the impossibility of providing magazines for fo many people, in an enemy's country divided by fo many fortresses, and in which the Austrians had so many soldiers. added, that the taking of Vienna, admitting the possibility of their succeeding, would only raise up all Christendom against the Ottoman empire; that Lewis XIV. the ally of Mahomet IV. and natural enemy of Leopold, would be forced to ferve the Germans against his friends, if the Musfulmen penetrated too far into Germany, as that prince, who stiled himself eldest son of the Church, was more attached to the Christian religion, than to his designs against the house of Austria; that all the electors and all the circles, who formed as many heads in the Germanic body, fo flow to assemble, and fo different in opinion, would no longer have but one common interest and one voice against the conquests of the Musfulmen, and that, before they offended

fo many enemies at once, it would be right to J.C. 1683. make themselves masters of the country and people which separated them from Austria; that the entire conquest of Hungary was become easy, by the number of friends, which he, Tekli, had made in that oppressed kingdom; that the Hungarians wished only for an opportunity to change master, and that one campaign would be sufficient, without much bloodshed or labour, to fecure all the country, which would afterward furnish foldiers and provisions for those who were desirous of besieging Vienna. The opinion of Tekli, strongly supported by Cara Ibrahim, whom the grand vizier had feared in the divan, and had fent into Hungary the preceding year, had fuch an effect on the council, that Cara Mustapha, though fo absolute, thought himself obliged to vield to this unanimity. He referved for another occasion the catcherif which Mahomet IV, had given him, by which the grand vizier was invested with an absolute power, both for fingly directing the operations of the war, and for diftributing as he pleafed the troops and generals under his orders. He marched to Raab, feeming as if he would lay fiege to it : however, he had fecretly fent emissaries into the odas of the janisfaries and spahis, who complained of the attempts that were made to limit the power of the grand vizier, and that much precious time, and one of the finest armies seen in Europe for a long time, were wasted on paltry places VOL. III. Rr thar

J.C. 1683. that ten thousand men would take as soon as two hundred thousand. They said intelligence had been received, that Leopold and all the imperial family had left Vienna, not doubting that the Ottoman army would direct its march thither; and that they were not permitted to follow the rout which the enemy himself seemed to open for them by his flight. All these rumours gained credit every day by the approbation of Cara Mustapha, and likewise by the money which he caused to be secretly distributed to those who complained loudest. When he thought the suffrage of the army might determine that of the chiefs, he brought the fiege of Vienna again on the carpet in open council. Tekli, Cara Ibrahim, and the other bashaws, who were not to be shaken by popular rumours, repeated with the same liberty the same objections, still equally strong, as the circumstances were not changed. The grand vizier was incapable of opposing any thing to these just reasons but the catcherif of the Ottoman emperor, which, declaring him generalissimo of the army, gave him the entire decision, without his being obliged to confult either the bashaws or the sovereigns under him. After the reading of the catcherif, the grand vizier having declared that the army should decamp the next day to march for Vienna, all the council was filent. Cara Mustapha would fain get rid of Tekli, whose voice was of great weight, and who, even by his filence, appeared to

Notwithfanding their refiftance it is refolved

to disapprove openly the resolution which it was J.C. 1683. no longer time to oppose; he decided that the prince of Hungary should remain in his own country at the head of his troops, which were ten thousand men, and of ten thousand Tartars, and that with this army he fhould lay fiege to Presburg. He left Hussain bashaw with a less body of troops to continue the fiege of Raab, and marched himself towards Vienna, at the head of his army, as fast as it was possible to conduct a hundred and eighty thousand men. He fent count Caprara (the emperor of the West's ambaffador) to the fultan; but he kept the Polish envoy with him, affuring him that he would have him hanged as foon as he should be certain that the king his mafter had joined his forces to the Austrian army, as rumoured abroad: for the Turks, always badly informed of what passes in other courts, were alone ignorant of what was bublic throughout Europe, and what fo particularly concerned them.

It was true that the emperor Leopold had left The duke Vienna for the fecurity of himself and his family, of Lorrain marches to before even it was known that the Turks menaced of Vienna. that capital of the Austrian dominions. Duke Charles of Lorrain, the emperor's brother-in-law, commanded his army, which did not then confift of more than thirty-feven thousand men, as the Polish, Saxon, and Bavarian troops, who were all to march under their respective sovereigns, had not yet joined him. Charles of Lorrain had un-Rr 2 dertaken YOL. III.

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J.C. 1683. dertaken the siege of Gran or Strigonia, in order that this place, which was well fortified, might ferve as a bulwark to Germany. As foon as he had learned that the Ottoman army was coming towards Vienna, he raifed the fiege of Strigonia, and, making long marches, arrived foon enough to throw eight thousand men into Vienna under the orders of the governor count Staremberg, who had already a tolerable strong garrison. The duke went at first and encamped in the island of Leopold-Stadt, hoping to preserve a communication with the town; but having prefently changed his mind, on account of his cavalry, which he was afraid to confine in an island, he decamped the day before the arrival of the Turks, and had time to deftroy the bridges which he had himself constructed. He chose a more advantageous camp at fome distance from the city, where he waited, without fear of being attacked, for the Poles, Bavarians, and Saxons, who all together would double the forces of the Austrian army.

> At length the Turks arrived before Vienna about the middle of July. The brave fellows, who defended that place, were more dazzled with the fplendor of their enemies, than terrified at their appearance. This army, almost without order, presented in an immense space a magnificence which the Austrians had never before had an idea of. All was gold, azure, and cloaks of great value; both men and horses seemed rather dressed for a splendid ceremony than armed for war.

> > The

The gold and precious stones which ornamented J.C. 1683. their arms, inspired the ardour of seeking this rich prey, rather than the fear of coping with those who displayed them. At length the tents were pitched, the trenches opened, the cannon began to roar, and the mines to blow up whole pieces of wall; they foon made themselves masters of fome advanced works, which the governor thought too bad to throw away men in defending; but when the Turks had gotten possession of fome old houses half burnt, they met with a vigorous resistance from the inner works. The citizens and fludents capable of carrying arms formed companies and became foldiers. Cara Mustapha, encouraged by his first success, vigoroufly attacked the place; but feveral fallies destroyed his works. He was constantly beaten by men, whom the love of their homes, their wives, and their children, had made foldiers. The avarice, or rather avidity, of the grand vizier, contributed greatly to the preservation of Vienna. Cara Mustapha was persuaded that this city contained immense riches, and was afraid, that, if it should be taken by affault, it would be pillaged. Believing likewise that the number of men in Vienna would only famish the garrison, and that all the horrors of war would foon join him in the fiege of this multitude, which he did not expect would receive any fuccour, his attacks became flower, and he contented himfelf with keeping up a continual fire from his batteries.

Meanwhile

T.C. 1683. Heg. 1094 He makes detachments from his army, which go into Hungary and Tekli.

Meanwhile the fage duke of Lorrain, who knew the danger of quitting a post where he daily expected the king of Poland and the two electors of Saxony and Bavaria, extended his views further than the fiege of Vienna. Tekli was marching but flowly towards Prefburg, which the Turks beat count were defirous of making a magazine for supplying their army with necessaries; full of his hatred of the Austrians, he took pleasure in barbarously retaliating on them the horrors which the Hungarian malecontents had fo long experienced; he remained in a village that he had facked 'till he had butchered all the inhabitants without distinction of fex or age; and dogs abominably trained fought those unfortunate persons, who had sheltered themselves through terror in holes of rocks and deep caverns, to tear them to pieces. The fpies of the duke of Lorrain informed him of what was passing in Hungary; he knew how to take advantage of the time which Tekli was losing by his barbarity. He fent the prince of Baden with twenty thousand men (which was nearly two-thirds of his army) to get possession by the shortest road of an advantageous camp for covering Presburg. The prince made three succefsful attacks in this expedition, equally advantageous for the defence of Vienna; first, he took an immense convoy of provisions and ammunition that the Turks were bringing from Hungary, and which they expected would be protected by Tekli; then, having learned that the chief of the male+

malecontents, in hopes to ravage more country, J.C. 1683. had separated from the Turkish bashaw, who had ten thousand men under his command, and that, overrunning each a different space, they were to join again before Presburg, the Austrian general had the address to attack these two enemies separately, and the good fortune to beat them one after another. The bashaw, frighted at the defeat of Tekli, fled before the troops of the prince of Baden, who killed a thousand of his men; and who, leaving in Presburg a garrison and one part of the convoy of provisions and ammunition, brought back the rest to the camp of the duke of Lorrain.

Meanwhile the fiege of Vienna continued; the fire from the batteries did great damage to the Continuramparts. The duke of Lorrain, who observed fiege of from his camp all the motions of the Turks, fent different corps to attack detachments of janisfaries and spahis, and generally succeeded in defeating them.

Six weeks passed in this manner, the grand vizier fummoning the city from time to time to furrender, under pain of all the inhabitants' being put to the fword, without distinction of fex or age, for he knew better how to make menaces than to dispose attacks, and count Staremberg fending to the camp of the duke of Lorrain meffengers in difguife, who paffed, by fwimming, feveral arms of the Danube, in order to keep up a correspondence between the two generals. Sta-

remberg

J.C. 1683. remberg wrote, that the breaches grew larger, that every day he lost men, that ammunition began to fall short, and that, if the Turks should at length risk an affault, it was possible that the town would be carried in spite of the valour of the belieged, who could do no more than die in the breach. The duke of Lorrain, too weak to undertake any thing, wrote to the emperor Leopold in order to haften the fuccours; and the latter, who confidered the fafety of the western empire as depending on that of Vienna, wrote in his turn to the king of Poland the most pressing and humble letters, lavishing on him the title of majesty, which the German this place. haughtiness had 'till then refused an elective king; and telling him, that if his troops were retarded in their march, he conjured him to make more diligence than his army, in order to fuccour Vienna at least with his military talents and the good fortune that had ever accompanied him.

Leopold presses the king of Poland to go to the fuccour of

> The news of a reinforcement's rapidly advancing, could not determine the grand vizier to press the fiege. Those, who had formerly endeavoured to divert him from the enterprise, now repeated to him, that the moments were too precious to be loft; that he was confuming a fine army which the famine, that was already felt, would reduce perhaps to nothing, and that he neglected his operations premeditately. Cara Mustapha replied, that, if his army wanted provisions, the besieged must want them more. He

was determined not to let the town be taken by J.C. 1683. ftorm, but to starve it into a furrender, lest his foldiers should feize the booty which Mustapha had a mind to preserve for the grand seignior and himself; for the grand vizier was accused by some of meditating to divide the eastern empire after having enlarged it; and that his only reason for wishing so much for the riches which he supposed to be in Vienna, was that he might be the better able to appropriate this conquest to himself. Be that as it may, the janisfaries and topggis quartered in the out works were forbidden to penetrate further; and as their impatience led them fometimes to scale breaches which they thought practicable, rather than remain exposed to the batteries that killed a great many of them, the grand vizier published, that he forbade, under pain of death, the commanders of corps to attempt any affault, however easy it might appear to them. The janissaries, irritated, and knowing that the garrison expected fuccours, exclaimed: "Come on, Infidels, the fight of your hats fuf-"fices to make us flee." The Infidels, as they called them, appeared in reality. Sobieski, too sobieski prudent to risk with twenty-five or thirty thou- arrives in fand men (for he had not brought fo many He is jointroops as he had promised) to pass the bridges ed by all of Vienna in presence of such a numerous army ary troops. as that of the Turks, learned that about twelve miles from thence, near a village called Tuln, there was a very large bridge, which the grand Ss vizier VOL. III.

.C. 1683. vizier had not taken the precaution to destroy. The king of Poland took advantage of this neglect and thought it a good omen. "This man," faid he publicly, " is an ignorant fool or a blunderer; we shall beat him certainly." This prince had joined the Austrian army at the head of two thousand horse only; but his army had followed him at a short distance, as likewise the reinforcements from the circles of the electors of Bavaria and Saxony. At length the fifth of September, when all the Austrian forces were united, they counted feventy-four thousand effective men under the command of Sobieski, three sovereigns, and twenty-three princes of fovereign families. The Polish cavalry, less incumbered with ornaments than that of the Turks, was neat, brilliant, and well mounted; the infantry, though badly clothed, did not appear less formidable for it. As a regiment, the foldiers of which were almost naked, was filing off before the king of Poland in presence of the princes, who seemed astonished at this apparent misery: "These fellows," said Sobieski, " never clothe themselves but with the " vestments of the enemy; last war they were " all dreffed like Turks." The cannon, which thundered continually on the ramparts of Vienna, were heard at Tuln camp, and they learned that the belieged were fo afflicted with an epidemical dysentery, that it was with difficulty the number of men sufficient to guard the ramparts

parts could crawl thither; that provisions became J.C. 1683. scarcer every day, and that a great many men were already dead with fatigue and hunger. The duke of Lorrain had just received a note from count Staremberg, which contained these words only: "There is no more time to be loft, " my lord, no more time to be loft." The king of Poland could not conceive how the enemy remained idle, whilft the smallest efforts would make him mafter of this important place. As the Austrian army was separated from the Turks by a tract of hills only, there were two roads to march to Vienna: the one over the hills, and the other round under them. It is easy to conceive how dangerous the first must be for the paffage of an army. Sobieski made choice of it contrary to the advice of his council. " The moments are too precious" faid he, " to " think of sparing men; here the shortest road " is the best." As foon as the Christian forces were affembled, the belieged were informed by fignals that they should soon be succoured. It was to be feared that the arrival of the Poles would determine the grand vizier to make an affault; he would have had time, feeing the numerous obstacles which this army encountered at every step, obstacles that exposed them a whole day to the view of the Turks from the top of the hills, on the fummit of which the foldiers had to fustain themselves; but the grand vizier's obstinacy VOL. III. S s 2

J.G. 1683 obstinacy prevented his seeing what all his lieutenants earnestly endeavoured to point out to him. The contempt which he affected for the Austrian army served him for a pretext; and he again forbade the affault which the bashaws were defirous of making. In his opinion, the town was on the point of furrendering, and the troops, arrived too late for its fuccour, could not fail of being beaten. As foon as the Poles perceived, from the heights, the camp of the enemies whom they had to fight with, they felt the joy experienced by labourers at the prospect of a plentiful harvest. Asiatic luxury and the greatest disorder reigned at the same time over this vast extent of ground, where were scattered here and there magnificent tents; beautiful horses richly and superbly caparifoned; a multitude of slaves and private foldiers, better clothed than the Polish officers; the arms and baggage lying in confusion; troops encamped on both banks of fome arms of the Danube, and in islands lying in the middle of this great river, without there being fufficient communication for fquadrons or even battalions to pass with expedition; and neither lines of circumvallation nor redoubts. "What an ignorant fellow this vizier is," repeated Sobieski continually, "how we are going to beat him !"

Battle be-

At length the twelfth of September arrived, the day on which Sobieski had resolved to give battle, a day so much defired by the Austrians,

and especially by the besieged. Cara Mustapha J.C. 1683. faw what he had never believed possible, the army of the western empire descend from the hills, on the declivity of which they had paffed the preceding night, form in order of battle as they came down into the plain, and extend their front as the ground enlarged. Twenty-eight pieces of cannon, which the Poles had found means with great difficulty to get across the hills, were at the head of the battalions, and made a heavy fire every time any Turkish or Tartarian squadron drew near to reconnoitre their forces. The khan of the Tartars pointed out to the grand vizier from a great distance the guards of Sobieski, which he knew by the colour of the bandrols that ornamented their lances, and he concluded from thence that that prince was at the head of the army. Cara Mustapha instantly ordered all the prisoners to be massacred that we rein the camp, both those taken during the fiege, and those which Tekli and the khan of the Tartars had brought to his army from the provinces of Hungary that they had defolated. All these unfortunate people were put to death notwithstanding their cries for life, their chains not permitting them to hold up their hands in supplication to their executioners.

In the beginning of the battle the duke of Lorrain, who commanded the right wing, broke and put to flight the enemy's left wing: the janissaries, who had complained aloud of the numerous faults Heg. 1094.

J.C. 1683. of Mustapha, fought badly, or not at all. It was necessary for them to mount from their valley against the main body of the Austrians, defended by feveral pieces of cannon, the frequent discharges of which, made at a small distance, swept their ranks and foon put them to flight. The advantage of ground rendered it impossible for the Turks to engage on any equality, who vainly attempted to close with the enemy. The magnificence of the chiefs rendered them a conspicuous object for their opponents, who generally marked with fuccess, and the loss of so many officers foon put the infantry to flight. The spahis, at the head of whom the grand vizier had always been, stood a longer time, and alone of all the army shewed the ancient Ottoman valour; but at length they were obliged to yield to the torrent, and, against their inclination, to join in the flight. The hatred which the Turks had for the grand vizier contributed greatly without doubt to the losing of the battle. But if feventy thousand men, fatigued with a long and painful march, beat and dispersed more than a hundred and forty thousand all fresh and prepared for the attack, the skill of a general, such as Sobieski, must, without doubt, have conducted the foldiers with that confidence in their chief, which the Turks wanted fo much in theirs. grand vizier flattered himself, that his troops would recover in an open place the courage which they had loft in unequal ground. Some troops,

Sobieski puts the Turks to Aight.

troops, that had not engaged, waited for the van- J.C. 1683. quisher at a little distance, who advanced after having broken the first line; but the rout was the same at this second charge as at the first; every thing was to give way to Sobieski this day. The efforts of the Turks only exposed more victims to the fword of the Christians. The vizier foon perceived, that the battle was irreparably loft; he ran to his tent to fave the standard of Mahomet, which he had left there perhaps with an idea of what would happen. The folitude that reigned in the camp, the acclamations of the vanquishers, and the groans of the wounded heard at a distance, drew from him tears of rage; but time was precious. He heard horses leaping the intrenchments, and did not yet know, if it were the spahis earnestly endeavouring like himself, to save what they had most valuable, or the Austrians hastening to plunder the camp. He fled amidst a troop of dispersed horse, who, no longer hearing the voice of any chief thought only of their own fafety. The terror was fo general, that almost all those who could reach Raab did not stop 'till they were before the ramparts of that town fituated five and twenty miles from Vienna.

Sobieski, master of the field of battle, would He delivers by no means permit his troops to pillage. marched in good order to the trenches that furrounded the city, which the janissaries had abandoned almost at the commencement of the action.

J.C. 1683. Vienna being now free, the citizens religned themfelves to a joy equal to the danger that they had run. Sobieski, fearing the enemy would return, forbade any foldier to quit his colours under pain of death, and he lay on the field of battle with his army. The foldiers were, as one may fay, in their ranks, ready to refume their arms on the At fix o'clock in the morning, Soleast alarm. bieski being quite certain of the total retreat of the Turks, abandoned their camp to the avidity of the foldiers. The first fight that presented itself, was a heap of female bodies still palpitating, who, not having been able to follow their hufbands in their flight, had been massacred by them through that fentiment of jealousy so natural to the Orientals, which makes them rather put their wives to death, than let them be taken by the enemy. Sobieski had a great number of children picked up, who were still sucking the bosoms of these unfortunate women. The bishop of Neustadt baptized five hundred of them, and undertook to maintain and bring them up in the Christian religion. The Poles found likewise in the camp Troski, the envoy from their republic, whom Cara Mustapha had fworn to put to death, if his mafter were really at the head of the Austrian army, which the grand vizier had only a supposition of. But in the hurry of his flight, he had not had time to think of his vengeance. Trofki faw himfelf preferved as by a miracle, from the death that had menaced him for

for fix weeks. One may suppose what booty the J.C. 1683. Poles made amidst so much riches. What appears strange in our manners is, that the generals and even the king divided with the foldiers the . fruits of this day. Sobieski wrote to his queen, that the grand vizier had left him his heir, and that he had found feveral thousands of ducats in his tent, " fo you won't fay to me," continued he, " what the Tartarian women fay to their huf-" bands: you are no men, fince you return with-" out booty." This battle lasted six hours, tho' the Turks defended themselves very badly, as the ground, unequal and divided by moraffes, ditches, and rocks, rendered all attacks difficult. The historians, who do not agree in the number of the dead on both fides, fay unanimoufly, that there never was a battle fo decifive which cost less blood. The next day count Staremberg came at the head of his men to thank the deliverer of Trium-Vienna. Sobieski, surrounded by the companions try of Sobieski into of his glory, entered triumphant into this place Vienna. through the breaches which the Turks had never dared scale. Nothing can be compared to the joy expressed by the people, or the demonstrations of gratitude and admiration which the citizens vied with one another in shewing him whom they called their faviour. The king was stopped at every step as he advanced, fearing lest his horse should crush the people of all sexes, ranks, and ages, who proftrated themselves before him. They separated him from his officers and guards

J.C. 1683. to dispute the happiness of kissing his garment, The confusion that accompanied this triumph, which is one of the most moving of which history has preserved us the remembrance, heightened the pleasure of it for the triumpher, and for those who paid him these honors, multiplied and repeated continually through the most heartfelt When Sobieski had arrived with gratitude. much difficulty at the metropolitical church of Vienna, which was the end of his journey, Te Deum was celebrated to attribute to the lord of hofts the glory of which he is the author; but amidft the prayers which the Austrians addressed to the Almighty, they did not forget the inftrument which God had made use of. After the Te Deum, the dean of the metropolitical church mounted the pulpit to exhort the people to acknowledge the hand of God, who had faved them from the most cruel captivity; he took for the text to his discourse these words from the Gospel of St. John: Fuit bomo missus à Deo, cui nomen erat Foannes.

The emperor Leopold, to whom Sobieski had undoubtedly rendered a greater fervice than to any of his fubjects, was he perhaps of all the Austrians who shewed least gratitude for it. he was returning to Vienna, he heard the firing of the artillery which celebrated the triumph of the king of Poland. His first sentiment was that of jealoufy. He bitterly reproached those who.

There was a man fent from God, whose Name was John-

who had advised him against going to the siege. J.C. 1683. It was impossible for Leopold not to fee the prince who had preferved him his crown; but the difficulties of the ceremony made him defer this compliment a long time. The emperor having asked the duke of Lorrain how he ought to receive Sobieski: "With open arms," replied the duke, "he has faved the empire." Nevertheless Leopold would never give the right in his palace to his deliverer, whom he had called his majesty when he so earnestly solicited him to come to his affiftance. He never thought then, as he did after the victory, of making a distinction between the condition of an elective king and that of a king born to reign. At length it was fettled, that the interview of the emperor and the king of Poland should be on horseback in an open place. Sobieski shewed on this occasion how superior distinguished merit is between to the haughty, base jealousy which endeavours ror of the to dazzle by the magnificence of rank. Leopold the king thanked him in a cold, embarraffed manner, to of Poland. which Sobieski replied, turning short: "Brother, " it gives me great pleasure that I have been " able to do you this trifling fervice." Notwithstanding the ingratitude and haughtiness of Leopold, the king of Poland, who felt the recompense of his fervices in the glory with which they covered him, and who also hoped that a continuation of his fuccess would procure his son the throne of Poland after him, thought only of completing Tt2 his VOL. III.

J.C. 1683. his work. He reassembled all the German troops
Heg. 1094.
and his own with intention to seek the enemy;
but it is time to return to the Turks, from whom
the pleasure of contemplating Sobieski as a conqueror has too much taken our attention.

The Turks

The rendezvous of the routed Ottoman army had been accidentally at Raab. All these soldiers, dispersed by fear, had taken refuge in the camp which they had left before that place. When they had recovered their breath, and terror had given place to shame, the grand vizier endeavoured to palliate his fault by injustice, murder and calumny. He accused those who had tried to disfuade him from laying siege to Vienna, of having drawn him thither; and as it would have been difficult to maintain such a fallacy in presence of those who composed the council, where Tekli had endeavoured fo much to prevent this rash undertaking, he sent for them one after another, beginning with Cara Ibrahim, and had them fecretly strangled to the number of eight, publishing afterward what he pleased of these reputed culpable men, who could not be justly reproached with any thing but having shared the discouragement of the troops, and given them the example of flight. He wrote the fultan his mafter, that he had washed away in the blood of these rash men the fault which he had committed in trufting to their advice, and that having loft but few men in the battle which had obliged him to raise the siege of Vienna, the misfortune

fortune was of no other consequence than the J.C. 1683. having vainly thrown away much precious time. He no longer thought but of keeping on his guard the rest of the campaign, without resuming the fiege of Raab, which the body of troops left before it had not the least advanced. He reinforced the garrifons of Gran, Viwar, and Buda, and remained himself at this place with the broken remains of his army, fending out a flying camp of eight thousand men only, under the command of a young bashaw, called Mustapha like himself, who was also bostangi pachi. This troop having advanced into the neighbourhood Sobieski, who purof Strigonia to reconnoitre the enemy, did much fues them with too better, for it had the honor to beat Sobieski in much eaperson, who, pursuing his victory too far, had in-beaten by discreetly advanced at the head of a body of troops. Poles, in the perfuafion that he should meet nothing but dispersed soldiers and troops without courage. The king learned, in fighting a young general who commanded a less number of men than himself, that an enemy just beaten should never be contemned, and that in war order and precaution are as necessary for victorious armies, as for those which have been vanquished. The bostangi's corps of troops, which marched in good order, met Sobieski's troopers negligently scattered over a rather considerable extent of ground. The Turks were foon in battle; they. vigorously charged the first Polish squadrons whilft the rest of the troops were reassembling precipitately

.C. 1683. precipitately without forming their ranks. bieski could never unite them but by parties. and these only offered more front to the fire of the Turks. The flight of the Poles foon became general, and the king himself, borne away by the torrent, was like to perish by the hands of some spahis who knew him, and who were exasperated against his person. He was saved by the love of his fubjects, feveral of whom covered him with their bodies. The Polish horses began to be worn out with fatigue, (the Turks constantly pursuing,) when they met the duke of Lorrain conducting his Austrians in good order to their assistance. As soon as Sobieski perceived him: " Duke of Lorrain," cried he, " I have at-" tempted to vanquish without you, and am " punished for it, but I will seek my revenge with you and for you." The bostangi was afraid of losing the fruit of his victory by an action of temerity; as foon as he perceived a fresh troop superior in number, he ordered the retreat to be founded, and returned towards his camp in good order, carrying with him standards, colours, kettle-drum-aprons, and feveral other trophies. No general without doubt is infallible; but the faults of a great man stimulate him to obtain fuccess. Sobieski was nobly revenged, as he had promifed the duke of Lorrain.

The young bashaw, too much inebriated with his fuccess, wrote the grand vizier, that he had so routed the Poles, that he did not believe their

army could ever get together again, and that he J.C. 1683. defired to have a reinforcement to complete their destruction. The grand vizier having sent him affistedby twenty thousand men only, near the fort of Bar-the duke of Lorrain, kan-in the suburbs of Strigonia where he was en- beats them in his turn camped, Sobieski, with all the confederate troops, marched, two days after his defeat, against this general fo proud of his victory. The Poles animated by the shame of their flight, and the Auftrians, full of the defire of avenging their allies, charged, to the number of fifty thousand men, twenty-eight thousand Turks, who did not expect to be fo foon attacked, and, taking them in flank, confused and dispersed them, making a terrible carnage, after three or four charges, in each of which the Turks loft their bravest men, their commander, with all his lieutenants, and the principal officers of the spahis and janisfaries; the rest of the army sled in disorder; a bridge of boats, hastily thrown over the Danube, gave way under the multitude earnestly endeavouring to gain the opposite side; almost all the Ottomans perished by the fire, the sword, or the river. Some foldiers, who escaped in a very small number, communicated to the grand vizier the terror which had feized them: this general, instead of endeavouring to oppose the torrent with the rest of his army, still superior in number to his enemy, moved off from Strigonia, and abandoned that Strigonia town to the rapidity of Sobieski's success, who, and Centlin in less than four days, had the gates opened to Sobiefki.

to go into winter quarters. The king of Poland, in returning towards Cassovia, surprised Cessin likewise, which made no defence. The grand vizier, who retreated himself as far as Belgrade, took advantage of the bostangi pachi's victory to present his master with a pleasing picture of the state of affairs, and to make him believe his troops had had great success. As he was desirous of procuring the support of the valid sultaness, and knowing the means to make his peace with that princess, he sent a Jew of his retinue with a letter to her, and several jewels of great value saved from the pillage of the camp before Vienna. As

" more effectual way to avoid robbers than the most numerous escorts: I will disguise myself

he was going to give his envoy an escort, lest he should be plundered by the way, this man could not help saying to his master: "I have a much

" like a Pole or a German, and the sole fight of

" my cap at a great distance will put all the

" Turks or Tartars to flight."

Efforts of the grand vizier to juffify his conduct. The valid sultaness, who had always esteemed this minister, and who preserved a great influence over her son, persuaded the sultan, that all the mischief which the bashaws sacrificed had done, had been repaired by the sagacity of the vizier. But when the news arrived of the deseat of Barkan, the taking of Strigonia, the immense losses which reduced such a fine army to less than half, that the discouragement

any

of the troops was at its height, and that Hungary J.C. 1683. and Austria were covered with Turkish deferters who quitted the turban, as they faid, to feek bread, which was refused them in their army; when Tekli, whom Cara Mustapha had accused, was come to Constantinople to justify the conduct and memory of those to whom the grand vizier imputed all these misfortunes; the janisfaries that remained around the Ottoman emperor, and those who composed the divan and the corps of ulema, began to clamour against this unjust minister, who punished for his faults those who had endeavoured to divert him from them. To add to the misfortune of Cara Mustapha, the valid sultaness died in the middle of these disturbances. The emperor's fifter, the widow of Cara Ibrahim, a lieutenant general, and the grand vizier's first victim, took care to have all those heard who had complaints to make. The janisfaries assembled one day in the fecond court of the feraglio whilft the divan was fitting; and when they had learned that the grand feignior, frighted with their clamours, had shut himself up in his haram, they protested that they would not eat 'till the death and dishonor of their chiefs and comrades were avenged by the punishment of those to whom they ought to be imputed. This growing fedition having alarmed the ministers, who wished in their turn to alarm the prince, they fent the kislar aga to warn him of the danger of an infurrection, which he had always dreaded more than Uu VOL. III.

J.C. 1683. any thing elfe, and that made him wander the greatest part of his life in the woods and fields. No one any longer spoke in favor of Mustapha; even the defterdar added to the many reasons for profcribing this minister, that his fortune would bring the public treasury the immense sums that he had taken from thence to raise a numerous army, which his obstinacy, incapacity, and cowardice, had almost dispersed, and which his riches, and those left by the valid fultaness, would amply repair. Mahomet IV. came out He is how- of his haram to fign the catcherif which condemned to demned the grand vizier to be strangled. This order was no fooner written, than it was fhewn to the odas of janissaries who beset the avenues of the divan, the fight of which quieted and difperfed them immediately. Mahomet had not figned this catcherif two hours, before he received letters from Cara Mustapha, who defired his permission to put to death ten officers of his army, who were become the first in rank fince he had caused the eight bashaws to be strangled. As fanguinary and absolute as Mustapha was, he, durst not take on him to order new executions, though he thought them necessary to bury every thing in oblivion that had passed in the council of war where the fiege of Vienna had been refolved on, and to be able to defend his own conduct fince that fiege. He endeavoured likewise to throw violent suspicions on count Tekli, who really had not ferved the Turks with

ever condeath.

the zeal of an ally, and who, throughout the J.C. 1683. whole course of the war, appeared the secret enemy of both the Austrians and Ottomans. This letter would have decided the death of Cara Mustapha, if it had not been already refolved on. Two men only were charged with the execution of it. The chiau pachi, and the caping kiasi, the one chief of the messengers, the other lieutenant of the guards of the infide of the feraglio, were dispatched to this man the most absolute in the empire to demand of him his head, whilft he still commanded more than eighty thoufand foldiers accustomed to tremble before him. But Cara Mustapha was only seared. The troops faw with great joy these officers, whom they fufpected to be charged with a fatal order against this general whom they no longer beheld but as an incapable, bloody tyrant. The grand vizier received with tolerable firmness the order which deprived him of the feals; he delivered them to the chiau pachi without hesitation. But when the capiggi kiasi shewed him the catcherif that condemned him to death, he uttered fome imprecations against fortune and against the emperor, whom he called feveral times an unjust and ungrateful prince. Having observed, on the countenances of those that surrounded him, the general pleasure which this order caused, It is time to die, cried he; and he put himself the bow-string around his neck, which two executioners drew tight, after he had faid aloud a short prayer. . VOL. III. Uu 2 His

J.C. 1683. His head was severed from his body, and afterward embalmed to be carried to Constantinople; where it was exposed to the eyes of the people, especially of the foldiery, whom this spectacle rendered perfectly quiet.

T.C. 1684. Heg. 1095. Several great officers of the Porte refuse the charge of grand vizier.

It was necessary to appoint a new grand vizier. The defeat of the army, the losses which the state had lately met with, and the vengeance which the emperor had taken for it on him to whom he had formerly given fo much fway, made fuch an impression on those who surrounded this prince, that two considerable persons refused successively the first dignity of the empire. The felictar aga, or fword-bearer, whom the grand feignior loved more than all the rest of his court, having been nominated to it, threw himself at the feet of his mafter, and affured him, that he was incapable of discharging the important duty which his highness was desirous of intrusting to him, that it was his wish never to separate from the person of his master, and that he had neither the talents nor the defire to command armies. The reis effendi being then named, excused himfelf on account of his great age and his ignorance in the art of war. At last, Carakaja Ibrahim, the caimacan, accepted what it would not have been prudent to refuse; for the grand seignior, being greatly displeased at two of his favorites' having excused themselves from affifting him in supporting a burden too heavy for his hands, named the third with fuch a determined tone, that he did not

leave him the liberty of excusing himself. The J.C. 1684. new minister, taking the seals of the empire thus against his will, resolved to disburden himself as who acmuch as he possibly could, of the management against his of a war, the iffue of which was still more dan-will, vainly endeavours gerous for the commanders of the army, than the to conclude a peace. ministry. Carakaja immediately proposed in the divan to negotiate with the Austrians; but there was no room to hope that Leopold would grant tolerable conditions, and the ministers could not yet resolve to conclude a disgraceful peace. Mahomet had always heard the Ottoman arms, the valour of his troops, and the glory of his empire, spoken of with enthusiasm. He expected his generals to vanquish in his name, and his ministers to procure from the people wherewithal to maintain numerous armies, whilft he should peaceably enjoy delights which he believed infeparable from the throne of the Ottomans. He bitterly reproached the new grand vizier in open divan, on the discouragement with which he spoke of the operations of the subsequent campaign. One day, as this minister was discoursing with the other bashaws of the bench, and insisting on the necessity of treating with the Austrians, the dangerous window opened, and Mahomet, interrupting Carakaja, spoke to the bashaws of the bench, and the grand vizier himself, with the tone of a master who foresees no obstacle, because he does not imagine there can be any to his pleasure. The situation of the Porte, however,

1.C. 1684 was growing worse every day; for, while Carakaja was feeking the means to face the enemies of the empire, a new one forung up which he had not thought of.

The re-

The Venetian ambassador, having desired an Venice de- audience of the grand vizier, came with very few elares war attendants; and, without taking the feat which had been prepared for him, declared war against the Porte in the name of his mafters. On his return to his palace, he was arrested, as he expected; but having disguised himself, he deceived his guards, and got on board a vessel, which set fail the next day. The arrogance of the Turks, and the misfortunes of their last campaign, occasioned this rupture. They had twice infulted the Venetians in a very short time; first, by seizing fome bales which arrived in the fame veffel that brought the Venetian ambassador, under pretence of their containing merchandise subject to duties, though by the law of nations every veffel that carries an ambassador is exempt from searches, as likewise his house; and secondly, it being reported that a flave had concealed himself in the veffel which was to carry home the old ambaffador, the person charged with the police of the port caused this ship to be searched, notwithstanding the resistance of the crew, of which there were feveral wounded. These motives were more than sufficient for declaring war against a nation already weakened by feveral defeats, and which had powerful enemies to cope with. The marine

marine of the Ottoman empire was in the worst J.C. 1684, order, and the great expences occasioned by the war, did not leave enough in the public treafury to repair it. It became necessary to put a stop to commerce, and send to the coasts of Barbary and the Archipelago for all the vessels able to keep the sea. Immediately after the war was declared, the Venetian sleet, commanded by Morosini, the same who had desended Candia, went to take the isle of Saint Maura, at the entrance of the gulf of Larta, which made but little resistance. From thence it sailed towards Dragonette, and put a garrison in Prévesa, another place which commands the entrance to the gulf.

Meanwhile the grand vizier, attacked on all fides, made the greatest exertions to face so many enemies. The immense fortune of Cara Mustapha, (of which only a part was left the princefs his wife,) and that of the valid sultaness, furnished money to maintain two armies, one of which was to oppose the Austrians, and the other to feek the Poles in their own territories, in order to fight separately these two formidable enemies; but the grand vizier, taught by the misfortune of his predecessor, had no inclination to expose himfelf to the dangers of war. He gave the command of the two armies to two feraskiers, who had ferved a long time in fubaltern military capacities, and whom the misfortunes of the times and the cruelty of the last grand vizier had suddenly raifed to the highest rank. Shaitan IbraJ.C. 1684. him was fent against the Germans, and Solyman bashaw had the perilous charge of combating

Hungary.

Sobieski. The duke of Lorrain took the field vicegrad. first, and began the campaign with success. He Mifery of belieged Vicegrad as early as the month of March, and made himself master of it in a few days. He offered by a manifesto a general amnesty to all the Hungarians who would quit the party of Tekli, and the nation in general the justice which they pretended had been hitherto refused them. This last promise was so vague, that but few Hungarians believed it fincere. Some however, terrified by the last campaign, sought their safety in the strongest party; but the Hungarian general, having replied, by another manifelto, to the propofals of the duke of Lorrain, and treated his offers as fnares and artifices, marched in person with twelve thousand men against some Hungarian lords who had returned to the obedience of the house of Austria. He burnt the counts of Baragotzo and Humanai in their houses; and executed Chirnessi, Clebai, and Malkai on a scassold as criminals of state. Thus the poor Hungarians, equally the victims of both parties, beheld nothing but fire and fword on either fide, and were alike punished for having claimed their liberty, or fought peace after an unsuccessful war. eafe with which the duke of Lorrain had taken Vicegrad encouraged him to lay siege to Baccia, which cost him still less; after which he marched to Buda, and invested that capital of Hungary, just

just as the army of the seraskier Shaitan Ibrahim, J.C. 1684. reinforced by the troops of Tekli, arrived to cover it. The seraskier encamped in face of the Shaitan bashaw intrenchments of the Imperialists, fatiguing them flops the progress of every day by continual skirmishes. The duke the duke of Lorrain. of Lorrain, between two fires, continued four months the operations of a very bloody fiege. At length his army was attacked by a pestilential diforder, which fo discouraged the troops, that they were ready to disperse. The duke of Lorrain decamped, without the ferafkier's attempting to pursue him. The Turkish general was satisfied with having efficaciously opposed this torrent, and having faved the most important place of the country which was intrusted to his protection.

The feraskier Solyman, who had been fent And Solyagainst the great Sobieski, was still more fortu- of Sobinate than his colleague. After he had traversed eski. Walachia and Moldavia, two provinces which obey sovereigns less absolute than bashaws are in their governments, and had gained over one of those princes, the waywode of Moldavia, of the illustrious house of Cantacuzenus, a jeweller at Constantinople before he was waywode, the feraskier hastened his march to defend Kaminieck. which Sobieski longed to recover. The Poles, who had taken the field too late, being at length arrived on the borders of the Niester, were on the point of throwing over a bridge in order to attack Kaminieck, when they discovered on the other fide the army of Solyman bashaw, com-

VOL. III.

Xx

pofed

J.C. 1684 posed of fifty thousand men, Turks and Tartars: this was half as many more than Sobieski commanded. The Tartars made feveral attacks from the other fide of the river; their horses, accustomed to fwimming, had no occasion for bridges to carry them to the enemy; but, notwithstanding these skirmishes, Solyman would never come to a general engagement. Podolia, a fertile province while it belonged to the Poles, was become poor and defolate fince the Turks had been in poffession of it. The inhabitants, who were farmers, had fled the law of Mahomet. The ferafkier hoped the enemy would waste away on this arid, desolated spot, whilst he occupied a more fertile one. This campaign was thus passed in observations on both fides. The Poles fuffered more than the Turks from famine and the affiduous guard that an army not very confiderable was obliged to keep in the face of an enemy more numerous. The Turks were every where more fortunate this year than they could have expected; even the Venetians did not do them fo much mischief as they had reason to fear; contented with taking some posts in the isles of the Archipelago, they did not attack the coasts, which, being without vessels or fortresses, seemed to lie open to pillage. The two ferafkiers, by a firm and circumspect conduct, stopped, for this campaign, the torrent which had threatened their frontiers. Carakaja was highly pleased to think he had left the conduct of the war to subalterns

who

who would be responsible for it, and who so far J.C. 1684. had met with no disadvantage. He continued his refolution not to command the army himfelf, and employed his time during the winter in recruiting and provisioning it.

The revenues of the public treasury so lately J.C. 1685. Heg. 1096. drained were scarcely sufficient to maintain two great armies and a fleet, besides the garrisons that it was necessary to keep in pay throughout Asia, for fear of these disaffected people who had so often thrown off the mask when any storm had arisen in Europe.

The grand vizier wanted to make use of a re-The mini-fler wants fource that had been fometimes very ufeful to the to take the state; this was the money belonging to the or- the orphans of the empire, which the law of Mahomet interest. permits to be taken at interest on account of the of the feebleness of the proprietors, to the exclusion of people. all other rents conflituted in money, which would be confidered as usurious, and confequently highly criminal, among the Muffulmen. The grand vizier purposed to oblige all guardians to bring to the public treasury the money which they managed for their wards, promising faithfully to pay the arrears; but as, in a despotic country, promifes do not acquire confidence, and moreover, the merchants, who had employed this money in commerce, had no defire to reftore it, no one hastened to comply with the order of the grand vizier, who in vain had recourse to violent measures. Notwithstanding the catcherif of the Xx2 VOL. III.

emperor,

J.C. 1685, emperor, the people rose as soon as they learned that some guardians were imprisoned. The troops remaining in Constantinople took part with the oppressed citizens, and the whole city was in arms and disorder in a moment. It was impossible to collect this money whilst such refistance was made; it would have been necessary to put the effects of the refractory guardians up to auction. The people and the foldiers fell with fury on the chiaus who attempted to enter their houses. It would never have been possible to find collectors among fo many people determined to prevent these fales which they thought oppressive. At length Carakaja saw himself constrained to renounce his project; happy that the fedition, which began to terrify him, could be quieted on fuch terms.

Neuhausel Lorrain. and is beaten.

The grand vizier had but just recovered his besieged by fright, when he learned that the campaign was Lorrain. begun in Germany by the siege of Neuhausel, kier Ibra-him deter- which the duke of Lorrain had undertaken early mines to fuccour it, in the spring. His troops had blocked up that place all the winter. The ferafkier Ibrahim, instead of marching to the affistance of Neuhausel, thought he should relieve it with more certainty by making a diversion. He presented himself before Vicegrad, which was taken as foon as befieged. As he was on his return, the duke of Lorrain, leaving fixteen thousand men before Neuhausel, hastened with the rest of his army against the Turks; he found them intrenched in

an advantageous camp, which he had the address J.C. 1685. to make them quit, affecting diforder and a precipitate flight. As he knew the country better than the Turks, he drew him into a fenny bottom, where they were cut to pieces: he took their cannon, baggage, and military cheft; and, with. out losing time in their pursuit, returned to Neuhausel, which was carried by affault three days after this victory. These losses were followed by others still greater. Vicegrad, Novigrad, Tockay, and Eperies, opened their gates almost without resistance. Count Tekli having attempted to cover Cassovia with the troops which he had raifed among his partifans, the duke of Lorrain fent count Caprara, one of his lieutenants, to besiege that place. Tekli, informed of the march of the Germans, dispatched a courier to the feraskier Ibrahim, who had retired to Waradin, to folicit fuccours from him; the latter fent back word to the chief of the Hungarians that it was necessary for them to confer together on their mutual defence, and that he begged to fee him at Waradin, where he must bring only his lieutenants and a fmall efcort. Tekli, void of fufpicion, complied with the intentions of this commander, who appeared defirous of fuccouring him, and was received at Waradin with an apparent The ferafkier invited him and his kindness. principal attendants to dinner: but, after the repast, as they were beginning to confer on the pressing wants of the Hungarians in subjection

Count Tekli is fent loaded with . chains to the Seven Towers.

J.C. 1685 to the grand feignior, an oda pachi entered the room, escorted by several janissaries; he read aloud a catcherif from Mahomet IV. by which the feraskier was ordered to load the chief of the Hungarians with chains, and fend him under a fafe guard to the castle of the Seven Towers. This rigorous order having been executed, without any one's attempting to oppose it, the ferafkier declared to the affrighted Hungarians that their chief was fuspected of treason both against the Porte and them; that it was to him alone the invincible emperor of the Turks attributed the recent misfortunes in Hungary, and that his highness appointed general Pettrozzi successor to Tekli, provided this new chief of the Hungarians ferved his fovereign paramount and his countrymen more faithfully than his predeceffor had done. Petrozzi and his friends easily perceived that the feraskier, in his dispatches to the Porte, had thrown on Tekli the blame of what was past, lest he should himself be the victim of it, Being thoroughly refolved to repel treachery by treachery, they all promifed the ferafkier every thing that he asked, in order to free themselves The Hun- from his hands. But they were no fooner returned to their army, than they strongly painted party of the Turks to the officers and foldiers the injustice done Tekli and the Hungarian nation, and prevailed on the major part of them to go to count Caprara, who commanded at the fiege of Cassovia, and avail themselves of the amnesty offered those who

garians quit the party of in great number. who should return to the obedience of the em- J.C. 1685. Heg. 1096. peror of the West. Though Caprara was not generalissimo, and the Hungarians had carried arms against the empire since the amnesty was offered, he took care how he resused such an advantageous offer for his master. His camp was presently reinforced with almost all the Hungarians. Those, who continued enemies of the Germans, retired into different castles; the garrison of Cassovia, which was entirely composed of Hungarians, informed of these proceedings, opened their gates, not to vanquishers, but to friends.

The Turks were not more fortunate against the republic of Venice. This state had found means to form two alliances very formidable to the Porte, the Morlacks in Dalmatia, and the Mainots in the Morea. The former had heretofore thrown off the Turkish yoke on account of the cruelty of feveral bashaws. These people, since that time, bring up their children in fuch hatred of the Musfulmen, that a Morlack believes he has done a meritorious action in the face of God when he has killed a Turk in any manner whatfoever. The Venetians likewise gave them a piftol for every Turk's head, giving no other pay to these mercenary troops. The poverty, avidity, and particularly the hatred of the Morlacks, made them fo formidable, that the Turkish garrisons remained shut up in their towns, without any corps' venturing to appear abroad. These hardy people,

J.C. 1685. people, accustomed to sleep exposed to the inclemency of the air, to live on a little, even in the midst of peace, which they never observe but against their will, would be invincible, if their discipline were equal to their indefatigability. Their ferocity makes them still more terrible than their bravery, as whoever is attacked by a Morlack, has no way to fave his life but by taking his enemy's. These barbarians think it equally as cowardly to give quarter as to run away.

The Mainots, a people of the Morea, have

Misfortunes of Morea.

the Turks preferved the hardness, agility, and patience in in Dalma-tia and the fatigues of the ancient Spartans, from whom they are descended. Defended by a long tract of mountains, they have taken advantage of this natural intrenchment to keep themselves equally from the authority of the Turks and Venetians. This little republic, the enemy of the two neighbouring powers, both of which would fain subjugate it, lends its fuccours indifferently to the one against the other, and finds in its position, and in the poverty and courage of its citizens, effectual arms against tyranny. The Morlacks fight like wild beafts; the Mainots like men who idolize their liberty. These were not the only two enemies that the republic of Venice had raised up against the Turks; a great number of volunteers from all the countries of Christendom filled the galleys of Malta, of the duke of Tufcany, and of the pope; and independent companies, raifed at the expence of the court of Rome

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Rome and several Italian princes, seconded the J.C. 1685. Venetians in the conquest which they meditated of all the Morea. Whilft the noble Paul Michael, at the head of the Morlacks and fome national troops, was putting Dalmatia to fire and fword, Morofini commanded the combined army of Venetians, Maltese, Tuscans, and Mainots. After having defeated the Turks before Coron, which he had belieged, he took that town, as likewife Sarnat and Calamata. At length the captain bashaw, the seraskier of the Morea, after having loft two battles and three confiderable towns, abandoned that province, covered with dead Musfulmen, to conquerors as cruel as fortunate. He fled to Rhodes, where he did not think himself in safety 'till the port was shut with the chain. The army fent against the Poles had barely fome fuccefs, or, in better words, was less unfortunate than the two others. John Sobieski had, during the whole winter, been soliciting Constantine Cantimir, the waywode of Moldavia, to declare himself for the Christians, against Infidels, of whom he was rather the slave than the feudatory; but the Turks, agreeably to their policy, kept Demetrius, the eldeft fon of Constantine, in the seraglio of Constantinople, who was to answer with his head for the conduct of his father. The prince of the Moldavians, though a Christian in his heart, obeyed nature in ferving his enemies against the Poles, whom he would willingly have protected. He did all he Yv could VOL. III.

J.C. 1685. could to divert Sobieski from sending troops into

Moldavia, pretending that the taking of Kaminieck would be of more value to him than the conquest of a country which, in all appearance. would be foon the ally of Poland; but Sobieski knew none but friends or enemies in war. He intended his troops for the conquest of the dominions of this prince, who would not declare himself. A flow fever prevented his conducting them thither in person. The grand general, Jablonouski, marched this army through three hundred miles of deferts, called Pokutia, Podolia, and Bucovina: all these provinces were peopled and cultivated before the Poles and Turks were at war. Solyman, the feraskier of Silistria, conducted forty thousand Turks, as many Tartars, and five thousand Moldavians, against thirty thousand Poles. He took advantage of his fuperiority of number. A body of Tartars was fent by a by way to cut off the Poles and prevent their retreat by means of felling trees and inundations. Jablonouski did not discover the seraskier's manœuvre 'till it was too late to secure the defilés. After having remained invested a fortnight, he refolved on the only refource left him, which was to flee certain death across a thousand dangers. His retreat was both bloody and painful; but the feraskier, who had the glory of stopping these Poles, 'till then so formidable, confined the exploits of the campaign to this useful defence.

Ill fuccess in Poland.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile the news that had arrived from all J.C. 1685. parts threw Constantinople into consternation. The lofs of the Morea and almost all Hungary, and the devastation of Dalmatia, were far from being balanced by the trifling advantage gained by the feraskier Solyman. The grand vizier having learned the ill effect which the captivity of Tekli had had on the malecontents, refolved to have the feraskier Shaitan put to death. Carakaja knew no better way to exculpate himself to his master. The captain bashaw Calil met with the fame lot. Both being fent for to Adrianople, where the court was, were strangled without having been able to obtain an audience either of count the grand seignior or his minister. Carakaja im- Tekli is mediately ordered count Tekli to be released.

The feraskier Solyman bashaw, who had been Solyman fent for as well as the other two generals, thought bashaw for some time that the same lot was intended grand vihim. But his successes had drawn on him the posed, and eyes of the prince, of his minister, and of all the him himdivan, as on the man to whom they were to look for the fafety of the empire. The grand feignior wrote to him with his own hand, adding to this honor, which is very rare in the East, a vest lined with fable and a fword fet with precious stones. This prince told him, that it was referved for his talents and valour to recover Hungary and re-establish the affairs of the Ottoman empire. On this, Solyman refolved to gather the fruit of the dangers to which he was going to Y y 2 VOL. III. be

J.C. 1685. be exposed, and particularly to remove from the court and government this cruel grand vizier who knew only how to distribute perilous employs, and to make those whom he charged with them responsible for events which he would not be answerable for himself. Solyman, being arrived at Adrianople, affected to blame every thing with a liberty that prefaged badly for the minister who governed in the name of the grand feignior. He lamented to the prince the lot of Shaitan Ibrahim and the captain bashaw Calil, faying that he had feen them fight a long time with zeal and courage, attributing their defeat to the few troops which had been given them, the want of resources, and the discouragement of the foldiers, who no longer faw at their head the generalissimo of the nation, whose duty it was to chalk out the plans of the campaigns and be the first to expose himself to danger. After greatly lamenting the two proscribed generals, "In a word," faid he, "I boldly ask the man " who fo feverely condemned these unfortunate er men, if he could have done better than they " did." This boldness confounded the grand vizier, who, having attempted to fay fomething in his own justification, was again interrupted by Solyman, who haughtily replied to him: "You " know nothing of war; it does not become you " to judge the generals, still less to presume to " put them to death." Carakaja, perceiving that the grand seignior listened with a fort of pleafure

pleasure to the reproaches which Solyman made J.C. 1685. him, had no difficulty to comprehend that he was inevitably ruined. He left the feraglio without those, who had been witnesses of what had just passed, preparing to accompany him or pay him the respect due to the first officer of the empire; and Solyman, continuing to speak, undertook to prove, that if a peace could not be made, a grand vizier should be sent with full powers to act at difcretion against this formidable duke of Lorrain, who had already conquered almost all Hungary. The fultan, persuaded by the eloquence and reputation of the feraskier, immediately fent to order Carakaja to deliver up the feals of the empire, and the vast property which he was faid to have rapaciously acquired; and having asked the musti, who was present, if it would not be right to put this bad minister to death; the chief of the law, who was the friend of Carakaja, had the courage to take his part, faying, that faults of weakness or ignorance were not deferving of death. At length it was refolved that Carakaja should be folely stripped of his property and banished to the isle of Rhodes. He was granted a pension of one hundred and fifty aspers a day. The unfortunate minister let fall as much weakness at the news of his difgrace, as he had shewn incapacity during his administration. Persuaded that he was condemned to lose his life, he would not believe those who affured him that he was going to be exiled; and,

J.C. 1685. as if the blood of Shaitan, Calil, and so many others, had condemned him in his own eyes, he begged with a flood of tears to have time to fay his prayers and give his last orders. The confifcation of the property of this minister, though very useful for the public treasury, was not fufficient to prevent Solyman bashaw, become grand vizier, from turning into money a great part of the grand feignior's plate, all that had belonged to the deposed grand vizier, and likewife what had for feveral years past accrued from confiscations.

The grand vizier attempts in vain to make peace. He prepares to take the Seld.

The fuccess which the new grand vizier had J.C. 1686. had the preceding campaign, had not given him Heg. 1097. a good opinion of the war. He thought, that, if a prime minister, who remained constantly at the Porte, had been made responsible for the losses and misfortunes of the last campaigns, he, who had obtained the feals of the empire, only on condition of commanding the army, ran much more risk from the janissaries and people, in case the duke of Lorrain should continue his success. Under this apprehension he fought all possible means to treat with the western empire, so far, that he promised Mr. Degirardin, the French ambassador, the restoration of the Holy places, which the Greek Christians had usurped over the Latins, as we have already related, if the king his master would become mediator between the Porte, the western empire, the republic of Venice, and the kingdom of Poland. But, though

the zeal of Lewis XIV. for the Roman catholic J.C. 1686. religion made him defire to have the Holy places again in the possession of the followers of the Romish faith, his policy would not permit him to free the Austrians of an enemy that constrained them to keep numerous armies on the opposite frontiers; he would only conclude a peace between Poland and Turkey, in order that the latter might become more and more formidable to Leo-The Poles, though diffatisfied with the emperor of Germany, did not ask less than the restitution of Kaminieck to break this alliance. Solyman bashaw could not think of buying a peace at this rate with one enemy; he prepared as well as he could to make head against three powers, who were to attack him on three different fides.

The grand vizier possessed the confidence of the troops. The Asiatics and Europeans eagerly hastened to join his standard. The odas of the janissaries and spahis were presently complete; and, notwithstanding the recent missortunes, the three armies were recruited by the end of the winter. Tekli, released from the prison of the Seven Towers, was indemnisted by large sums for the confiscation of his effects; but his estates could not be restored him. Almost all the towns that had at first taken part with him had returned, since his detension, to the allegiance of the house of Austria. In vain did he publish a manifesto to revive the hatred of the Hungarians for the usurpers

J.C. 1686. usurpers and to their love of liberty: the duke of Lorrain was as much feared as admired through-Tekli col- out Hungary, Tekli could fearcely collect ten lects fome thousand men, almost all freebooters, who took troops. advantage of the troubles to desolate the country, much more than they thought of ferving their party.

Bad fuccess of the Ottoman army during the whole

The Imperialifts, according to their custom, took the field before the Turks. The duke of Lorrain went with ninety thousand men to lay campaign. fiege to Buda. The trenches were opened and the other operations just begun, when the grand vizier appeared with fifty thousand men at some distance from the camp. The Christians, superior in number, faced the Turks without flackening their attacks. Solyman had the mortification to fee all the detachments that he fent beaten, and even those that he conducted himself to make a diversion. After a bloody and fatiguing siege of two months, the duke of Lorrain entered Buda through the breaches, and thus restored to the house of Austria the most important place and the capital of the kingdom of Hungary. He gave quarter to two thousand men left of the garrison. After this conquest, it would have been easy to vanquish the affrighted Turks; but the duke of Lorrain could not difpose as he pleased of the troops which the princes of the empire had brought under his orders, nor retain those who were desirous of going into upper and lower Hungary to besiege the places still

in possession of the Turks. Whilst generals J.C. 1686. Husler and Caraffe were laying siege to Segedin, a strong town in upper Hungary, which they did not take 'till the trenches had been open ten weeks, the prince of Baden made himself master of Simonthorna, Kapofwar, and Five Churches; and general Scherfemberg took Ciglos and Effeck. Meanwhile the duke of Lorrain, with the troops that he had left, kept the Ottoman army in awe which the ascendency of the Germans feemed to have enchained.

The ferafkier of the Morea was not more fortunate against the Venetians. He had fitted out his fleet again in the beginning of the spring, in hopes of recovering some of the maritime places loft the preceding campaign; but Morofini, elated with his fuccess, hastened against him, and obliged the Turkish commander to re-enter the straits of the Dardanelles, after which he took both the old and new Navarrin, and Napoli di Romania; and, in the mean time, Cornaro, who commanded in Dalmatia, beat the bashaw of that province twice. The king of Poland had penetrated into Moldavia a fecond time, and had defolated it, though the waywode Cantimir endeavoured to persuade the Poles that he was their friend. In The grand fhort, every thing had succeeded so bad in the afraid to course of this campaign, that the grand vizier Constantidid not dare return to Constantinople, though his nople. presence was so necessary there. He dreaded with reason the lot which he himself had procured

J.C. 1686. his predecessor. He wrote from Belgrade to the caimacan of Constantinople, the son of the famous Kiuperli, and called Kiuperli like his father, to endeavour to raife money, in order to repair, if it were possible, by a more fortunate campaign, the misfortunes of the preceding ones.

Discontent of the peonople.

What the prime minister had foreseen, really ple at Constanti- came to pass. The discontent was so great at Constantinople, that no one endeavoured to diffemble it. They complained aloud in the streets, markets, and public squares. The imans stirred up the people by their clamours; and as if the object present was to be answerable for every thing, all the blame was thrown on the grand feignior. An iman had the boldness to address the prince in open mosque to reproach him with his effeminacy and pleasures, the little care that he took of his empire, and the depravity of his manners, which drew the chastisement of Heaven on his subjects, whom it was his duty to make happy. And indeed Mahomet was accused of having more affection for the young icoglans, brought up in the inner odas of the feraglio, than for the women that he kept in great numbers and at an immense expence in his haram. The fentiments of the people were so well expressed by the minister of the Alcoran, that his audacity remained unpunished, and no one attempted to interrupt his discourse, during which much confusion was observed on the emperor's countenance. In defpotic states, all is either total flavery, or unbridled liberty.

liberty. Nothing was talked of at Constantinople J.C. 1686. but deposing the sultan; the whole body of ulema, and the few janisfaries and spahis that composed the garrison, longed to put a brother of the emperor's on the throne; but they were afraid of being opposed by the army.

Meanwhile the caimacan had orders to raife Imposts lelarge fums; but the moment was very unfa- ulema and vorable for gathering imposts. This minister, vate perwho knew mankind were fubjugated by dividing empire. them, thought he would not demand fuccours either from the merchants or timarians, who were the richest in appearance, but from the ulema, that made so much noise, the officers of the seraglio, whose profits were not less considerable for being unknown, the officers of the customs, and, in fine, all those who were employed in collecting money in the empire. The preamble of the catcherif which ordered this impost faid, that in bad times it was necessary to have recourse to the last resources; that all the bodies of the flate had contributed with their blood or their riches; and that it was just that those, who had profited most by the prosperity of the empire, should contribute to repair its misfortunes. was in vain that the ulema made refistance; the caimacan fent the most considerable of them to the Seven Towers, and replied, to their numerous citations from the Alcoran, that they should not be released 'till they had paid this tax. It was collected amidst these murmurs Z 2 2 with VOL. III.

J.C. 1686. with great exactness both in Constantinople and in the provinces of the empire. But these fupplies did not produce the effect that had been hoped for from them.

J.C. 1687. TheTurks ground and places.

The campaign of 1687 was every whit as un-Heg. 1098. fortunate as the preceding ones. Morosini beat are beaten the feraskier of the Morea immediately on taking where, and the field. This victory opened to him the gates every where lose of Patras, Lepanto, Misitra, which is the ancient Lacedemon, Corinth, and Setines, which is the ancient Athens; in short, he made himself master of the rest of the Morea and all Attica in the space of time necessary to travel over these vast provinces. General Cornaro was likewise vanquisher in Dalmatia; and after having totally defeated the bashaw of Bosnia, he laid siege to Castel-Novo, the strongest place in the country, which he took by affault, and made the garrison prisoners. The Poles gained but little ground; the fon of their king Sobieski undertook and abandoned the fiege of Kaminieck; but the glorious duke of Lorrain advanced still further into Hungary than the preceding year. man bashaw was beaten near Mohatz, carrying away no other consolation than the having valiantly disputed the victory. He retired to Peterwaradin, and distributed the broken remains of his army in the neighbouring places. The duke of Lorrain feigned to beliege Temeswar in order to draw the Turks that way. After having engaged them in a false march, in less than fix weeks

weeks he reduced Sclavonia, the fortified places J.C. 1687. of which made no refistance, and Transylvania, which the rapid fuccess of the Austrians soon reduced to the obedience of the emperor of the West. The waywode of Transylvania, called Michael Abaffi, a thorough Austrian in his heart, had never been faithful to the Turks but through fear. He would scarcely appear to make any refistance to victorious troops.

The grand vizier, on his return to Peterwa- The grand radin, learned, that every day, fince his defeat, tempts to had been marked by confiderable loffes. It was blame of rumoured about that he had written to the Porte fortunes for permission to put several of his lieutenants to tenants. death, whom he accused of having been the cause of his lofing the battle of Mohatz. As it was necessary to throw the blame of this defeat on fome one, he hoped that his complaints would reach Constantinople before the clamours of the army, who accused none but him. The bashaws, whom he had been afraid to put to death, perceived that they were loft, if they did not openly attack this concealed enemy, more dangerous than an open one. Sciaus bashaw, the most confiderable among them, who had the confidence of the army, having affembled the principal officers, refolved with them to revolt against him the first occasion. An opportunity soon offered. The grand vizier had fent feveral waggons loaded with ammunition and provisions to Agria, efcorted by a thousand janisfaries and five hundred spahis,

throw the

J.C. 168- fpahis, in hopes that this fuccour would give him time to reassemble his army, and force the enemy to raise the siege; but things turned out quite contrary. The waggons being met by a body of Austrians, were pillaged, and the fifteen hundred men defeated. The grand vizier thought it would be right to have this aga beheaded, who had fo badly executed his mission. The prepa-

leaves the army.

Insurection for this execution raised the janissaries, at him. He the head of whom the bashaws cried aloud, that a timid, fanguinary general must not be permitted to put his highness's subjects to death, according to his caprice, when he was unable to face his enemies. Sciaus bashaw having reproached the grand vizier, at the head of the army, with his incapacity, avarice, and cruelty, Solyman would fain have him feized and punished immediately. All the janissaries quitted their ranks in concert, and the bashaws, agas, and odas pachis, having drawn their fwords, the unfortunate grand vizier perceived, that he had no other choice left than death or infamy. He preferred the latter. As the day was nearly ended, he retired precipitately to his tent; and as foon as it was dark, he mounted his horse, and carried away the feals of the empire and the standard of Mahomet. Those, who saw him go off, would rather fee him disgrace himself in the face of the whole empire, than dip their hands in his blood.

The news of this flight being spread, the bashaws assembled at break of day to name another general,

general. All unanimously proclaimed Scians J.C. 1687. bashaw. When he was presented to the troops, Scia who had been put under arms for that purpofe, elected the spahis and janissaries saluted him grand vi- zier by the foldiers, zier, without its being possible to make them who comprehend that no other than the grand feignior towards had a right to confer that dignity. As the army nople. continued obstinate, even against the wishes of Sciaus, (for he repented already of having pushed the rebellion to far,) those, who were most animated, told him, that he must die immediately, or refolve to lead the army to Constantinople; on this Sciaus no longer hesitated. The mutineers fent four bashaws before them, to fignify to the grand feignior the choice which they had made, and to let him know, that they were marching to Constantinople to receive nine months pay which was due to them.

Solyman bashaw, who had sted from Peterwaradin to Belgrade, and from thence to Adrianople, stopped in that town to wait for orders from
the Porte. The news of the revolt threw Constantinople into a general consternation. Mahomet tottered on his throne, and those, who
had been of his councils or companions of his
debauchery, waited in silence for the blow with
which they were menaced. Solyman, being ordered to Constantinople, sent on the seals of the
empire and the standard of Mahomet before him,
hoping that this voluntary resignation would save
his life and liberty. And indeed, when he ar-

rived

J.C. 1687. rived at the feraglio, the grand feignior received him kindly, lamented his misfortune, and asked advice from this feeble minister, who told him feveral times, that it was no longer time to relift, and that he must submit to circumstances.

The grand feignior confirms this election. How his deputies are received.

The selictar aga or sword bearer was fent out against the army, and charged with carrying the grand vizier proclaimed by the troops the feals and the standard of Mahomet. They gave him for companions of his journey, the defterdar, who had fled with the vizier Solyman, and who hoped to be favorably received in consequence of the news which he brought, and the reis effendi Sciaus's friend. These officers were ordered to found the malecontents, and to order the new grand vizier and the army to return from whence they came, if they would ftill acknowledge the authority of Mahomet. The fultan's three envoys met the army near Adrianople. On their informing the advanced guards of their mission, they were ordered to be conducted to the feet of this new minister; but only two of them reached his tent; for the troops, who hated the defterdar, because he had kept back their pay, tore him from his two colleagues, and killed him immediately. The selictar and the reis effendi being arrived, though not without terror, before Sciaus, this general received with indifference the feals and the standard which his master fent him; and as one of the deputies faid aloud, that his highness declared Sciaus bashaw his grand vizier

vizier and generalissimo of his armies, those who J.C. 1687. accompanied the minister exclaimed that Sciaus was grand vizier already. The reis effendi having added that it was the intention of the sublime emperor that the army should return to the frontiers of Hungary: "We know better than " he what is proper to be done," cried they all together, "we are going to Constantinople on " purpose to tell him." The two deputies were ordered to withdraw, just as if they had been heralds of arms come to declare war; and the grand vizier replied to the felictar, who claimed the prefents usually given when the prime minifter receives the feals and the news of his appointment: "I was grand vizier before you arrived: " as for the rest, I make you the most considera-" ble present that you can receive, fince I leave " you your life."

When these deputies, who had been so badly received, were returned to Constantinople, the consternation increased. They said that the whole camp refounded with imprecations against the late grand vizier. Mahomet, whose terror He has the rendered him cruel, refolved to have him be-late grand vizier Soheaded, yielding to the advice which Solyman lyman put to death. himself had given him, not to make any resistance against what the army should require of him. He had the vizier's head embalmed, and ordered those, who were to carry it to the malecontents, to affure them, that means were going to be taken not only to pay them what was al-VOL. III. 3 A ready

Heg. 1098.

J.C. 1687 ready due, but even to pay them for the future in advance, provided they would return to Hungary. And indeed the grand feignior had already made considerable reforms in his seraglio; in one day eight hundred fine women, turned out of the haram, were fold by auction to any one that would buy them. He had the greatest part of his plate coined into money, and deposed the mufti who had authorised the German war by his fetfa.

> Meanwhile the army advanced rapidly. Neither the facrifice of the old grand vizier, nor the future promises, nor the gold sent to the new general to distribute to the troops, could appeale the mutineers. They drew their chiefs along with them, who had always in the council inclined towards moderation. The grand feignior affembled the divan every day; he descended to justifications and even to prayers. The bashaws and men of the law, who composed this affembly, replied, that it was not they that he should gain over. It is true however that the body of ulema hated Mahomet as much as those whom he dreaded with fo much reason. The effendis had not forgotten the heavy tax that had been laid on them, and they perceived with a fecret joy that a religious prince, thoroughly devoted to the ulema, Solyman, the brother of Mahomet, was on the point of possessing the throne. mufti, called Calil, who was indebted to Mahomet for his recent elevation, durst not cabal

The Mahometan priefts prepare the people for the revolution.

against

against him; but the nakib, or chief of the J.C. 1687. Heg. 1098. emirs, and the scherif of Saint Sophia's, the principal mosque in Constantinople, both greatly diftinguished by their dignities and the credit which they had acquired, were continually representing to the people and to the foldiers remaining in Constantinople, that the Ottoman empire would infallibly go to ruin under a prince who had neither good intentions, nor talents, nor courage; that the army was coming to depose Mahomet, and that it would be both dangerous and unjust to resist them.

The grand feignior, who faw nothing around Mahomet him but consternation and terror, attempted for attempts the third time to have his brothers put to death. third time to have his He thought, that the ancient respect for the Ot-brothers toman blood, which is interwoven in the religion death. He is preventof the Turks, would prevent them from deposing ed by the the fole branch of the imperial race, and that a and the boftangi crime would fecure him on the throne from pachiwhence they wanted to pull him down. It is not improbable indeed that he would have kept himself on it by a fratricide, if he had had an opportunity to effect it. But the caimacan Kiuperli (son and grand-son of these two famous grand viziers who had rendered the commencement of Mahomet's reign fo glorious), and the bostangi pachi, who were charged with this horrible execution, not only refused to do it, but watched likewife that no one shed this innocent blood. Guards of bostangis were placed

J.C. 1687. at the apartments of all the princes; Mahomet's fons were removed out of the haram, in which the princes are nurfed during their infancy. Kiuperli would fain have his eyes constantly open on this charge, which it feemed as if the nation had intrusted to him.

The army arrives at Conftantinople.

Meanwhile the army arrived at the gates of Constantinople. Twenty odas of janissaries or spahis were posted in the city: the rest were distributed to guard the port, gates, and suburbs. Sciaus bashaw, the chief of a conspiracy of which he was neither the author nor the most zealous accomplice, obtained from the principal officers that furrounded him, leave to fee Mahomet. The very day he entered Constantinople, which Heg. 1099. was the 30th of October, he appeared before that prince with all the respect that a grand vizier ought to pay his emperor. Sciaus could perceive nothing but weakness and terror in the eyes of his mafter. Mahomet made a long apology for his conduct, in which he particularly dwelt on the glory of his reign under the two viziers Kiuperli. He added, that he had punished the ministers who had indiscreetly engaged him in the German war; that he had given up his pleafures, his treasures, and every thing most dear to him

> in the world, to pay his troops, and repair the misfortunes of the Ottoman arms; that if they would depose him for the good of his subjects, he was ready to descend from the throne; and that, if they were desirous to take his life, he

> > would

would facrifice it voluntarily. Mahomet shed J.C. 1687. Heg. 1099. tears in pronouncing thefe last words. Sciaus bashaw, touched with pity, left his master to return to the mosque, where the body of ulema and the officers of the janisfaries and spahis were waiting for him. The chief of the emirs had spoken with great vehemence, and called on the caimacan Kiuperli to acknowledge that Mahomet had given him orders to extinguish by an affaffination the whole imperial race. The praise which the chief of the emirs bestowed at the same time on the caimacan and bostangi pachi, calling them the faviours of the empire and the protectors of the Ottoman race, prevailed on these two great officers to acknowledge the orders which they had received, and to give an account of the measures that they had taken to prevent any other persons from committing this crime. This recital excited general indignation. The grand vizier and the mufti vainly endeavoured to defend the emperor, but were filenced by the clamour; and they perceived, that their endeavours to preferve Mahomet his sceptre were likely to endanger their own dignity, liberty, and perhaps life. It was agreed to fend the two effendis who had directed all these proceedings, to signify to Mahomet his deposition. They proceeded towards the feraglio amidst the people, who accompanied and retarded their steps. snewn the bostangis and icoglans an order signed Mahomet is deposed. by the grand vizier and the musti, they proceeded

Solyman

J.C. 1687. into the very inner apartment, where they found Mahomet overburdened with grief. The chief of the emirs spoke to him at first with the respect due to one who had been forty years his mafter: but on the prince's entering into a long apology for himself, which concluded with imprecations against his rebel subjects: "We are not come," replied the scherif of Saint Sophia's, " either to " liften to thy elogy, or hear thy abuse. De-" fcend from the throne, which thou art unwor-" thy of filling, and prepare to occupy for the rest " of thy days the prison in which thou wouldst " have affaffinated thy brothers." At these words the two deputies withdrew, leaving the kiaia of the bostangi pachi to guard the dethroned prince.

SOLYMAN II.

TWENTIETH REIGN.

HE bostangi pachi and the chief of the II. ascends black eunuchs conducted the two effendis the throne, immediately to the apartment in which prince Solyman was confined. This prince, then fortyfix years of age, was continually reading the Alcoran and the Sunna, and had never taken any part in the intrigues or revolutions which had feveral times menaced his life. He made,

or seemed to make, like his predecessors, some J.C. 1687. difficulties at accepting the empire, faying, that having lived more than forty years in a prison, he had had no opportunity of getting any other knowledge than what was contained in the Alcoran and the Sunna. "Most powerful emperor," replied the chief of the emirs, "this law, which " you have fo particularly studied, is that by " which you shall govern us; this is also what " your brother has fo shamefully transgressed. "God and the holy prophet command you, by " our voice, to come and feat yourfelf on the " throne of your ancestors." The new emperor obeyed with an affected repugnancy. They obliged him to put on a robe lined with fable, and placed in his turban the three egrets, as likewise by his fide a poniard fet with diamonds, all marks of fovereignty. He was conducted into the divan chamber, where the grand vizier, the bashaws of the bench, the body of ulema, and, in short, all the chiefs of the military corps, janisfaries, spahis, levantis, and others, were waiting to kifs the bottom of his vest. As they were conducting the new emperor to this ceremony, he asked what they were going to do with the dethroned prince. On the boftangi pachi's replying that he was to occupy the fame apartment from whence he, the emperor, had just been taken, Solyman, whether through pity, or that he dreaded the reproaches of his brother, earnestly defired that he might not meet him.

Heg. 1099.

J.C. 1687. This prince, being arrived in the place where he was to appear as an absolute monarch, shewed by his timid countenance that the pomp which furrounded him, and the authority with which he was going to be invested, were equally strange to him. He confirmed the grand vizier Sciaus bashaw in his dignity, as well as the rest of the officers that filled the divan. He performed the abdest* in presence of this numerous assembly, and then difiniffed them, after having exhorted each member in a few words to do his duty.

J.C. 1688. Heg. 1099. Revolt in grand vi

It seemed as if the janissaries had consented to make Solyman emperor, only that they might which the refign themselves to disorder, which this feeble zier falls. prince was unable to repress. During the whole of this revolution, they had been displeased with the grand vizier, who, when they left the frontiers of Hungary, fuffered himself, rather to be led by these rebels, than to conduct them, and had confented with difficulty to the depoling of Mahomet. The bulak-agalaris, who are officers of the janisfaries answering nearly to colonels in the British service, went in a body to demand of the grand vizier the pay of their odas, which it had been impossible to raise notwithstanding the retrenchments that Mahomet had made, and the customary present on the accession of each emperor. There was far from being enough

^{*} The abdest is the washing of the hands; a ceremony indispensable, and most strictly ordered by the law of Mahomet; it is done once a day, and likewise before every important action.

enough in the public treasury to answer all these J.C. 1688. expences. The grand vizier endeavoured at length to appeale them with promises. After rather sharp remonstrances, at the end of three days, these mutineers declared, that, fince they were refused the money that was their due, they would take it where they could find it. They began to plunder the richest houses in the city, particularly those of the effendis, merchants, and custom-house officers. The grand vizier sent his delis feveral times to put a stop to these disorders; but the guards of the prime minister were constantly beaten by soldiers better trained, more feared, and who kept always together in large numbers. At length, Sciaus bashaw having furprifed and caused some of them to be put to death, the janissaries, instead of going tumultuoully to the feraglio, according to their custom, to demand the deposition of the minister, attacked him in his palace. He bravely defended himself at the head of his delis and fome fervants; but, after a long refiftance and much blood spilt, he was obliged to give way to number. The grand vizier fell by feveral blows, and his house was facked, as if it had been a citadel. In contempt. of the law of Musfulmen, the janisfaries violated the facred asylum of the haram. The fifters, wives, and concubines, of the unfortunate grand vizier fell a prey to their cruelty and licentiousness. After having polluted themselves with the blood of those who had attempted to make resis-3 B VOL. III. tance

J.C. 1688. tance, they dragged the rest almost naked into the streets of Constantinople, and fold them to any one that would buy them. The Musfulmen had felt only fear when their houses were pillaged, and had thought themselves secure from rapine when they had hidden their most valuable effects; but the usage received by the women converted their terror into indignation and despair. In an instant the streets were filled with armed people, who fell with fury on those who prefumed to transgress the law of Mahomet, so far as to offend modesty in public. The citizens who were not armed threw out at the windows every thing that they could lay hold of in their rage. More courageous to keep the rioters out of their harams than to defend their property, their liberty, or their lives, these citizens, without a chief, without discipline, and almost without arms, found a force which they did not know they possessed. Whole bands of janissaries fell crushed under enormous maffes thrown from the tops of the houses, and the foldiers revenged the loss of their comrades by a new carnage. This dreadful riot had no appearance of being at an end, when the mufti, more courageous than the bashaws, who had not had the refolution to trust themselves in the middle of an enraged populace, appeared in all the places where the combatants feemed most exasperated. The chief of the law, preceded by the standard of Mahomet, ordered aloud all the Muffulmen, in the name of the prophet,

to sheathe the sword, which should never be J.C. 1688. drawn, he said, but against Insidels. The manner in which the musti appeared, his authority, and his courage, prevailed both with the soldiers and people. The janissaries hastened to their odas, and the whole attention was turned to the burying of the dead which were in great number in the streets.

The vizier that fucceeded Sciaus bashaw pos- Sequel of fessed that dignity four days only; as he was the revoltdetermined to have the authors of the fedition fecured, it was on the point of breaking out again, when Solyman, by the advice of the mufti, deposed the new vizier, and gave the seals to Mustapha bashaw, the richest of the Musfulmen, who, far from punishing the janisfaries, made use of large sums of money to quiet them. Several odas received a part of what they had . claimed, and quietly marched under the command of the grand vizier Mustapha against the bashaw of Nicomedia, who had taken advantage of the infurrection in Constantinople to keep back the imposts of his province. This new rebel was easily repressed; and the grand vizier, more fortunate than his predecessors, flattered himself with having put an end to these disturbances.

One may well suppose that since the deposing of Mahomet IV. the affairs of Hungary had only grown worse. The emperor Leopold had just succeeded in having his son declared hereditary vol. III. 3 B 2 king

The bad fuccefs, both against the tians, determines the grand fend ambaffadors to fue for peace.

J.C. 1688. king of Hungary. In vain had the Turkish emperor declared Tekli anew, prince of this state tributary to the Porte; the Imperialists had taken Agria and Mongats where the countess of Tekli Germans and Vene- had defended herself four months with the courage and conduct of an experienced general, and feignior to where that heroine had at length loft her liberty. Illock, Peterwaradin, Titul, and Albaregalis, had opened their gates: and, to complete the difafter, the duke of Bavaria had made himself mafter of Belgrade, after a long fiege, which had cost the Turks nine thousand men killed or made prisoners. The Venetians had indeed miscarried before Negropont, which the mifunderstanding between the officers of the pope and the grand duke, the continual rains, fickness, and several other circumstances, had constrained the generalissimo, Morosini, to abandon; but they had made themselves masters of four places in Dalmatia in which they had put garrifons. Poland alone, of all the powers at war with the Porte, had made no progress this year. The grand feignior and his minister perceived that it was time to conclude a peace. The Ottoman haughtiness descended so far as to send ambassadors to the emperor Leopold, under pretence of acquainting him with the accession of Solyman to the throne of Constantinople, but in reality to bring about a peace become absolutely necessary. The moment was favorable, as the war broken out with France obliged Leopold to withdraw from

from Hungary the troops of the circles, those of J.c. 1688. the palatinate, and a great part of his own, to face this redoubtable enemy. Lewis XIV. by the numerous armies that he raised, and which astonished Europe, constrained the belligerent powers to make the greatest efforts. The Turks expected great things from this important diverfion: an effendi, named Suubficar, and a Greek interpreter of the Porte, called Mauro Cordato, were fent to the German camp to propose a suspension of arms. This Mauro Cordato enjoyed at the Porte the greatest consideration ever obtained by any Christian among the Turks. He was perhaps the only one of his religion admitted into the divan and invested with the character of ambaffador. The grand feignior, all religious as he was, furmounted his natural repugnancy for those whom the Turks call Giaurs or Infidels. He gave instructions from his own mouth to Mauro Cordato, who was thought more skilful than Suubficar, so much were the Musfulmen interested in difarming Leopold.

The elector of Bavaria had just taken Belgrade, J.c. 1689. when he faw the ambaffadors of Solyman II, arrive in his camp; under pretence of paying them honors, he shewed them his triumphant army. The prince replied to the proposals which The amthey made of suspending hostilities, that he was bassadors refuse the general of the emperor's troops, and not his conditions plenipotentiary, charged to conquer Servia and Bulgaria, not to negotiate a peace; that if they

had

J.C. 1689. had any thing to propose to his imperial majesty, they must go to Vienna to him. The Turkish ambassadors fet out immediately for this capital of Austria, which had so powerfully opposed the torrent of their conquests, and the unfortunate flege of which was the epoch of their decline. At first they confined themselves to signifying to Leopold, in a public audience, the accession of Solyman to the throne of his ancestors, and the necessity to which the members of the state had found themselves reduced to take the sword of Othman from the hands of Mahomet, too feeble for its support. They waited to see if the German ministers would make any overtures of peace to them; but, as the latter remained obstinately filent, Mauro Cordato, whose religion seemed likely to render him less suspicious to the Austrians, proposed secretly to leave the western empire all the conquests which it had made. pold, persuaded that the moment was arrived to drive the Turks quite out of Europe, ordered the ambassadors to be told, that he would not listen to any propositions of peace, unless their mafter began by giving up, not only all Hungary, but likewise the adjacent provinces, such as Sclavonia, Croatia, Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Transylvania; that afterward, he should stipulate for his allies; that he would demand for the Poles Walachia, Moldavia, and a part of Crimean Tartary; and for the Venetians the cession of the Morea and the coast of Negropont, from Corfu

to Corinth, and a part of Dalmatia. The am-J.C. 1689. baffadors, frighted at these claims, replied, that they had no power to strip their master thus; upon which the emperor, imitating the behaviour of the Turks to foreign ministers, immediately ordered the two envoys to be imprisoned in Put-They are tendorf castle, where they were treated with much prison. respect. The Austrians would not prohibit them from corresponding with the Porte. The Imperialists respected the law of nations, even when they were desirous of infringing it.

The grand feignior, on the news of the bad The grand fuccess of his negotiation, ordered public prayers, orders pubto obtain, as he faid, the fuccour of God against lic prayers, the Infidels. He again prohibited the use of take the wine, and made rigorous laws in order to cure command his subjects, and particularly the foldiers, of this troops himself. vice which defiles nature, and is more common among the people of the east and fouth than those of the west and north. Several examples of men put to death with the companions of their debaucheries repressed, for a time, this licentiousness, which had been at its height during the reign of Mahomet. The religious monarch, who had never handled a fword, but who had read in the Alcoran that it is an action agreeable to God, and even a duty, to draw it from the scabbard against the Infidels, resolved to conduct his troops into Hungary. He fancied he had drawn on them the benediction of Heaven by a great number of meritorious actions, fuch as

prayers,

J.C. 1689. prayers, fastings, alms, and meditations on the Alcoran and Sunna; but Solyman, fo well versed in the knowledge of his law, was ignorant of two things necessary for a prince who had taken the reins of the empire into his hands, the sciences of war and government. He feemed fitter to govern a monastery of dervises, than a great empire, the resources of which were drained, and which verged towards its ruin. Having learned, on his arrival at Sophia, the capital of Bulgaria, that prince Lewis of Baden, successor to the duke of Lorrain, had taken Sigeth or Sigeftwar, and that he was advancing into Servia with a fresh and well disciplined army, the certainty of foon coming to action abated the ardour of the He contented himself with devout Solyman. his mind. fending into Sclavonia to count Tekli, who commanded there a corps formed of the remaining revolted Hungarians, the sword, vest, and mace, of waywode of Transylvania. This general had received fuccours of money from Lewis XIV. which are much more efficacious than vain titles.

changes

The grand feignior put at the head of the army, which he would no longer command himfelf, not the grand vizier Mustapha, who was as ignorant of the art of war as his mafter, but the feraskier Rejeb, formerly a chief of freebooters, who was supposed to have great talents for war, because he had desolated Asia and made himself formidable to all the bashaws of the divan, who had thought it fafer to admit him among them,

than

than to attempt to punish him. This chief of J.C. 1689. bandits, skilled in desolating plains and butchering farmers on the fields where they were on the point of gathering in their harvest, knew nothing of that scientific manner of making war which had been introduced into Europe several years before. He waited for the prince of Baden near Passarowitz on the borders of the Moravia, in a disadvantageous camp, which a conjurer, whom he carried with him, had affured him would be the theatre of his victory. He en- The feralgaged the enemy against the advice of the officers kier Rewho commanded under him, and by the inspi-command the army, ration of his magician. The Turks, discouraged is beaten before they came to action, were foon defeated. lofes much Rejeb, after having lost a great many men, afsembled the broken remains of his army under the cannon of Nissa, where the prince of Baden foon overtook him. The prefumption and obstinacy of the conjurer, added to the filly confidence of the chief, caused the Turks the loss of a fecond battle. This defeat, still worse than the first, opened Bulgaria to the vanquisher, who rapidly made himself master of Nissa, Viden, Orfowa, and Pirote: the alarm spread as far as Sophia, which the grand vizier haftened to leave. The austerity of his religion would not permit him The grand to let the seraskier Rejeb live, who, contrary to seignion has him the law of Mahomet, had confulted a magician: frangled. he was strangled, not for having lavished Musfulman blood and for his bad conduct in general,

.C. 1689 but for having transgressed the Alcoran. The troops commanded by Tekli were not more fortunate than the main army; the prince of Baden, having learned that the Hungarian prince was marching towards Viden, detached general Pocolomini with a corps against him. Tekli, who had loft, by the taking of Viden, a fine palace richly furnished, wanted to recover that place. Pocolomini eased him of the desire of it, by attacking him unawares, dispersing his little army, and forcing him to take shelter in Nicopoli.

The affairs of the Morea had not been fo bad for the Turks this year as the preceding ones. The inconsiderate zeal of some Venetian priests. and even of general Morofini who had been made doge, had alarmed their new allies the Mainots, who were of the Greek communion, and as much attached to their worship as the Venetians. The Italians, enemies of toleration, had pulled down some churches and restrained the exercise of the Greek liturgy. The most zealous of the Mainots regretted the liberty which they had enjoyed under the Musfulmen, and thought it necessary to forfake the Christians to be Christians in their own way. They asked the Porte for a waywode of their own province and communion. A slave, called Liberius, who had been groaning many years in the Ottoman galleys, after having been taken cruifing in a corfair of his nation, was the prince whom Solyman chose for the Mainots: This man, fage and courageous, left the place where. where he had been confined as a flave, to become J.C. 1689. the fovereign and almost founder of a monarchy. On his arrival in his own country, with the veft, fword, mace, and investiture of the grand seignior, he raifed the standard of rebellion; and, having affembled his countrymen, offered them liberty and peace, if they were defirous to merit This change was received with transport. The Venetians, disperfed over the plantations of the Mainots, could not fland against enthusiasts who thought they were defending the cause of God under the command of a deliverer fent by himself. This revolution cost but little blood, because the Venetians made no attempt to recover the places from whence they had been driven; they obtained from the Mainots, by a fort of agreement, that the latter should remain neuter.

Leopold, who was hard pressed by France, Leopold is notwithstanding his fuccess against the Turks, his turn began to wish fincerely for a peace with his van-to make peace. quished enemy. He sent for the two ambasfadors, who had not been fo closely shut up in Puttendorf caftle as not to be able to receive instructions from their court. Leopold heard with aftonishment, that these Turks, beaten on all fides, far from offering, as they had done at first, to refign the Austrians their conquests, demanded the reftoration, not only of what they had loft the preceding campaign, but even of the major part of Hungary. The emperor fent back these ministers, whom he called rash mad-men,

J.C. 1689. to the same castle where they seemed to have learned fo much audacity. This change was not the work of the grand vizier Mustapha, who had been just deposed for his incapacity. The caimacan Kiuperli had been put in his place; he was fon and grand-fon of the two celebrated viziers of the same name, who alone had given the Ottoman empire, fince its foundation, the example of a family powerful and illustrious in several generations. This minister, who possessed the talents Deposition of his ancestors, had come to their preferment by restoring plenteousness and good order in Constantinople after the rebellion. He had gained the confidence of the people and especially of the ulema, the members of which had great interest with the reigning emperor. With the support of the latter he had rooted out great abuses, and had restrained the depredations of the inhabitants of the feraglio, a useless, greedy troop, accustomed to devour the substance of the people and foldiers. Kiuperli having prevailed on the religious Solyman to intrust him with the administration of the finances of the haram, which the kislar agasi dissipated, this caimacan had infinuated himfelf by degrees into the confidence of his mafter, and had demonstrated to him, that all the troubles of the last reign and of his own proceeded from the incapacity of the ministers, and of the generals whom the latter had made choice of. The grand feignior, full of good inrentions, resolved to raise this man to the dignity

grand vizier. A 3d Kiuperli fucceeds him.

of prime minister, as he appeared to him the J.C. 1689. most capable of discharging its functions. Mustapha was deposed; and as the riches which he had accumulated in three different Afiatic bashawcies had not decreased in the eighteen months that he had possessed the place of grand vizier, though he had paid with his own money, as we have feen, the present claimed by the janiffaries on Solyman's accession to the throne, the grand seignior confiscated all the property of this unfortunate vizier, who was fent into exile in one of the illes of the Archipelago. A pension of fifty aspers a day only was assigned him for his maintenance. It foon returned to the public treasury; for Mustapha, overcome with grief, furvived his difgrace but a few months.

Kiuperli was no sooner at the head of the di-He puts van, than he changed the whole internal admini- the finanstration; and proved that the resources of a great order. ftate are immense, when those who manage them know how to make honor and œconomy fucceed disorders and depredations. Though the want of money was fo preffing, the grand vizier began with relieving Constantinople and the provinces from an almost arbitrary impost, which his predecessor had put on meat. This unexpected liberality filled the people with joy, and all the officers with furprife. Their aftonishment increafed when they faw all the defterdars, comptrollers of mosques, and receivers of the customs, He gains the confisummoned to give an account of their admini-dence of

stration

LC. 1689 stration in open divan from the time that they had managed the public money. It was useless to bring discharges from officers who were not the viziers; for, in order to conceal the knowledge of their rapines, the prime ministers always ordered receipts to be given for the sums abforbed in their treasures, by inferior officers who were looked upon to have applied them to different uses, in order to prevent a suspicious prince from demanding from them an account of what they could fay had been employed unknown to Kiuperli, who knew that his ancestors had always managed the finances of the empire themselves, and that all receipts ought to be given by the grand vizier, affected not to receive any excuse in this respect; and as he was certain that those who had been accessary to the avidity of the ministers had made an advantage of their infidelity, he declared to the officers who had either given or received such receipts, that they must make good the deficiencies. He caused the lands and the effects of those who had been intrusted with government money, and could not give him a fatisfactory account of the application of it fince the death of the fecond Kiuperli, to be fold. Several did justice to themselves, for fear of punishment: they carried restitutions to the public treasury before they were constrained fo to do. Kiuperli took the timars from those who did not really ferve in the army. He excepted none from this rigorous law but the old men rendered unfit to serve by their wounds or J.C. 1689. fatigues. These timars were given to compensate for the suppressed thaimes, which are a fort of daily pensions paid those who seem to be entitled to receive a maintenance from the state. The grand vizier forbade a fingle afper to be taken from the public treasury, except to pay the foldiers or debts contracted, because, he said, the Alcoran expressly forbids those who are in debt, whether monarch or other person, to give away a property not their own, and all and "

It was hoped that a minister fo fage would Affembly procure the Ottoman empire a peace, which this of the didrained state seemed unable to do without. The the contimufti and all the ministers pressed him to it : the the war is grand seignior himself desired it, as it was the ongeneral wish. A divan was affembled, in which the chiefs of the ulema, fuch as the cadilefkiers and mollacs, were admitted. The latter exaggerated the fituation and misfortunes of the empire, the scarcity of men and money, the difcouragement of the troops, and the incapacity of the commanders; they agreed almost unanimously to folicit peace from the Germans, and to order the ambaffadors to accept any conditions that Leopold should be pleased to offer. The cadileskier of Asia was the only one who opposed this proceeding, which he called cowardice; and, addressing himself to the grand vizier, he said, that a man like him would foon repair the finances of a state, drained only by the incapacity

J.C. 1689. of his predecessors; that when his grand-father had accepted the feals of the empire, he had found every thing in the greatest disorder. "The " flock will be always fat and numerous in our " fertile lands," added the cadileskier, " when " we have vigilant shepherds and courageous " dogs, capable of wrefting the lambs from the " teeth of cruel, fugitive beafts. Our towns " have been taken through the incapacity of our " generals; these should be recovered at all " events. The finances are drained: the fage " œconomy of the vizier will foon repair them. "The feraskiers have lost the choice of our " troops in battles as difgraceful as bloody, but " the valour of the Ottomans is not yet daunted. " Let Kiuperli raise new recruits and lead them " himself to battle, and our enemies shall soon "know that the Ottomans are good foldiers " under an able general. In a word, the Alcoran " forbids us to make treaties with the Giaurs, " unless they are vanquished. The prophet, " who has made this law, will procure us the " means to accomplish it. It is a crime to " doubt Providence, and a still greater one to " deprive ourselves of the resources which he is " pleased to send us." Kiuperli heard this difcourse with transport. Flattered and encouraged by this elogium, he persuaded the emperor that he should have certain success, without its costing him either danger or fatigues; and he had

the boldness to promise victory to those who had J.C. 1689. been so anxious for peace.

The ambaffadors confined in Puttendurf caftle were ordered, without feeming to break off the negotiation entirely, to render it fo difficult, that the campaign might be begun. The grand vizier relied much on the powerful diversion which the French promised to make. The French ambasfador, Mr. Dechateauneuf, had made this minister sensible of the perplexity into which the war against his master would throw Germany. The grand vizier hoped to find in Hungary neither the generals, nor the armies which, for feven years past, had made such astonishing progress Kiuperli sent a circular invitation into Kiuperli the different provinces of the empire, to all evies regood Musfulmen and brave patriots, to come and avenge the misfortunes of the nation. However despotic the government of the Turks may be, the fertility of the climate, and the enthusiasm of their religion, attach them to their country. They love even the blood of their despots, which they have feveral times shed, but which they always wish to see on the throne. They loved likewise the family of Kiuperli: the memory of his father and grand-father was recent; and though the new grand vizier had never commanded an army, the fagacity which he had shewn in the commencement of his ministry had prejudiced the whole empire in his favor. They joined his standard in crowds, and the officers of the

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VOL. III.

J.C. 1689. the janissaries and spahis picked their recruits

from the choice of the youth. A great many asaps were raised, who encamped under the walls of Constantinople, and were under such a strict discipline, that it could not be perceived in any quarter of the city that an army furrounded it. The changes which Conftantinople and its environs had undergone in a few months were incredible. The order which reigned brought abundance every where. Kiuperli, perfuaded that justice is made for all mankind, applied He obliges himself to the administering of it with the greatest exactness to all the Christians, Jews, Idolaters, in short, to all those whom the Musfulmen call Giaurs. This minister, who knew how useful strangers are in a country destitute of commerce through the laziness of its inhabitants, knew likewise that fair dealing is the foul of that commerce. He was particularly attentive to protect the merchants from the frequent vexations which, through a mistaken avidity, they experienced from brutal Turks, who thought themselves exempted from being just to those whom they called Infidels. The policy of the vizier extended fo far as to protect the religion of each. He had been very severe to the Greek priests, called papas, obliging them to pay the same tribute as the other subjects who are not Mussulmen. Greek priests had 'till then been excused from it, on account of a pretended exemption granted by

Mahomet to a monk of mount Sinai, who, as

they

A& of justice of Kiuperli. the Greek priefts to pay the fame impofts as the other fubjects who are not Mahometans.

they faid, had predicted to him in his youth his J.C. 1689. future greatness. The vizier treated this as a fable though it had 'till then passed for an averred fact, adding, that what might have been granted to the friars of mount Sinai ought not to belong to all the Greek priefts. This impost which he obliged them to pay was the more important for the public treasury, as the Greek clergy are very numerous, and rather rich from the liberalities of their communion. But though he had taken from the ministers of this religion an usurped privilege, he did all the other Greeks a favor, which has not a little contributed to multiply them in the Ottoman empire.

The vizier, when he set out at the head of his J.C. 1690. army, in the beginning of the spring, for Servia, He gives a which he was defirous of recovering, paffed church to through a village inhabited folely by Greek village Christians. These peasants had neither priests none. nor church, as the ulema would not permit temples of a foreign religion to be built in places where there were none when they were conquered. Notwithstanding this law, which was not written any where, but which had been fcrupuloufly observed, the grand vizier ordered a Greek church to be built in this village, and that a priest of that religion should be sent for to serve it. Kiuperli replied to the remonstrances which were not forgotten to be made him, that it was necessary for mankind to have some religion, or they would become freebooters, and that it was VOL. III. 3D 2 better

Heg. 11014

J.C. 16901 better for the empire to be inhabited by Greeks who should cultivate the land and pay the taxes, than by wild beafts. In acknowledgement of this favor, which caused an excess of joy in these poor farmers, Kiuperli demanded a fowl from each housekeeper every time that he should pass that way: immediately twenty fowls were brought him. The grand vizier, returning the following year to Constantinople, passed again through the fame place, and received two hundred fowls from those who were eagerly come to settle in this village. "See," faid he to the officers that furrounded him, " what toleration produces. I " have increased the power of our great moer narch, and have forced these good people to " bless our government, which they hated."

The first campaign of Kiuperli was as glorious as the preceding ones had been unfortunate. The janisfaries, under him, resumed their ancient valour, which was highly necessary to recover fome of the many places which the last seraskiers had lost by their incapacity. The grand vizier had forty-five thousand foot and forty thousand horse under his command. As the finances of the empire were not thoroughly repaired, Kiuperli had fewer troops in pay than he could have wished. However, he did great things with this little army. As it was his intention to take Belgrade, he first made himveral towns felf mafter of the neighbouring places. Sarkioi was his first conquest, where he found five

Kiuperli takes feand gains a great victory.

hundred

hundred Heydukes, to whom he granted the li- J.C. 1690. Heg. 1101. berty of retiring where they would, provided it were not in any fortified place, declaring that he would put all those among them to death without mercy who should be taken in arms. The grand vizier having from thence gone and besieged Nissa, count Staremberg, who commanded there, defended that post with great bravery, less with the hopes of keeping it, than to gain time to repair the fortifications of Belgrade. After having the trenches open twenty-five days, during which much blood was spilt, the count, feeing the impossibility of holding out a longer time, demanded the honors of war, which the vizier was very willing to grant him. As the garrison were on the point of filing off, the janisfaries observed some of the Heydukes of Sarkioi in the ranks, who had been discharged on their promife of not ferving again during the war. They were stopped immediately, and the marching out of the garrison being retarded, those of the Heydukes who had been just secured, were put to the rack. They confessed that all their comrades had entered Nissa with them. Kiuperli threatened the count to put the whole garrison to the fword, if all the delinquents were not immediately given up. There was no way of refusing this justice to one so capable of righting himself. The five hundred Heydukes, drawn from the ranks, were decimated in presence of the German garrison and the Turkish army.

Twenty

J.C. 1690. Twenty of them were hanged up immediately; and the rest, being put in chains, were fent on board the galleys. Viden and Semendriah furrendered at the first fummons. Kiuperli, having thus fecured his rear, thought it time to lay frege to Belgrade. He had but just pitched his camp before that place, in which was a garrison of ten thousand men, when he learned that general Veterani was marching towards him at the head of thirty thousand Germans. Kiuperli advanced against him with his cavalry, leaving all the infantry to pursue the siege. Whilst the grand vizier was keeping the Germans at bay, fortune favored him more than he could possibly have expected. A fire having broken out in a powder magazine contiguous to the wall where all the batteries were directed, made a large breach there. The bashaw who commanded in the abfence of Kiuperli, knew how to take advantage of this favorable circumstance and the confusion of the enemy; he made an affault, while the shock was still so recent, that a thousand janissaries who had mounted with ladders were precipitated with a piece of wall that gave way under them. This accident only rendered the operation easier; the town was soon taken, and as Kiuperli was not there to restrain the fury and cruelty of the vanquishers, it was with great difficulty that the bashaw could save three thousand men of the garrison. On the news of this success, the grand vizier returned to Belgrade; he employed some time

time in repairing the breaches of that place, J.C. 1690. which was looked upon as the bulwark of Hungary. He re-victualled Temeswar, reduced to the last extremity by a blockade of three years; and having conducted his troops over the Danube, made himself master in a short time of Lippa, Orfowa, and all the country bordering on thefe places. Just as he had laid siege to Esseck, general Veterani came to attack his camp. Kiuperli had expected it. He received the onfet of Battle of the Imperialists with such judgment and courage, that they were prefently defeated. The loss of this battle was irreparable for the Germans, as only feven thousand men escaped the sword or captivity, most of the officers of distinction perished, and the Turks took an amazing number of colours, kettle-drums, and every thing that could fignalize a great victory.

Notwithstanding this brilliant success, the grand vizier was obliged so raise the siege of Esseck on account of winter's coming on, and because he was desirous of leading his troops against prince Lewis of Baden, who had brought an army into Transylvania against the waywode Tekli, vanquisher in the beginning of the campaign, but since driven from his new estates. The Poles did nothing this year but expose their army in the deserts of Moldavia to want and disease, which carried off more than half of them. As to the Venetians, they were as fortunate this campaign as the preceding ones. The town of Napoli

J.C. 1690. Napoli di Malvasia, which was the only place that the Turks had left in the Morea, furrendered to the republic after a blockade of feventeen months. Admiral Daniel beat twenty Turkish vessels on the coast of Metelin, sunk seven of them, and put the rest to flight. Cornaro took two towns in Albania and Dalmatia. The bashaw of Heregovinza, having attempted to make himfelf mafter of a small place, was repulsed by the garrison and townsmen, made prisoner, and chained to the oar with the best part of his troops. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, the success of the grand vizier in Hungary had raised the courage of the Ottomans.

Return of the grand vizier to Adrianople.

Kiuperli was received at Adrianople, where the court was, with every demonstration of joy, and all the honors of a triumph. The confidence of the troops, the admiration of the people, the incapacity of the monarch, every thing contributed to augment his authority. According to the usage of the Porte, it was with this minister only that ambassadors ought to treat, whether for the interests of their merchants or for foreign affairs; but Kiuperli, instead of carrying the grand seignior the proposals of foreign ministers, and receiving orders from his mafter, fully decided the affairs of greatest consequence, and the grand feignior congratulated himfelf on being delivered of a burden too heavy for his hands.

Mr. Dechateauneuf, the French ambassador, was charged by his court with four important negotiations

negotiations at the same time. They were as J.C. 1690. follows. First, to procure a continuation of the war against the emperor of the West; secondly, Negotia-tions with to conclude a peace with Poland, in order that the tne French common enemy might be the more weakened; dor. thirdly, to engage the Turks not to acknowledge the prince of Orange king of England, and in confequence to confiscate the vessels of the English who called themselves subjects of that monarch; and lastly, to obtain the restitution of the Holy places at Jerusalem to the Roman catholics, to whom they ought to belong. The I.C. 1691. continuation of the war with the western empire Heg. 1102. was perfectly conformable to the wishes of the prime minister and the interest of the nation, which began to recover from the abject state in which it had lingered feveral years. The Ottoman ambassadors continued still at Puttendorf without any power from their court. The fecond negotiation was more difficult. The fuccess of the campaign having elated the courage of the Turks, and particularly of the grand vizier, the Porte would not restore Kaminieck to the Poles unless it were demolished. The king and republic, who justly considered this important place as the bulwark of Poland, did not think its restoration worth accepting, without it were in a state of defence. The proposals were rejected on both sides. With respect to the confiscation of the English vessels, though the operation appeared to be favorable, on account of the 3 E. advantage VOL. III.

J.C. 1691. advantage which it would be of to the Ottoman marine, reduced by the battle with the Venetians, the grand vizier absolutely refused it. He replied to the arguments of Mr. Dechateauneuf, who endeavoured to prove the injustice and usurpation of the prince of Orange, that the latter was the real king of England, as the English acknowledged him for fuch; and that it was not for a people, who had feveral times deposed their emperors, to refuse other nations the right of changing mafter. The restitution of the Holy places remained to be discussed: this object interested politics as much as religion. The Greeks, who were in possession of these temples so revered by the Christians, treated those, who were not of their communion, very ill. There had been feveral times combats at Jerusalem, and blood fpilt on his tomb who ordered Peter to sheathe the fword drawn for his defence, and his apostles to go and propagate the faith among mankind, as lambs among the wolves. Those, who were drawn to Jerusalem by devotion, were exposed to the danger of taking the life of another, or of lofing their own. The ambassadors of France, charged more particularly at Constantinople with the protection of the Roman catholics, had for more than a century vainly claimed the justice which this fect thought their due. In order to fucceed in it, Mr. Dechateauneuf took advantage of the want which the Turks thought they had of Lewis XIV. Notwithstanding the favor of

the Greek monks, orders were given to the fan- J.C. 1691. giac of Jerusalem to take the Holy sepulchre from them; but these orders, which satisfied the king of France and his minister for the moment, were badly executed. The Turks could not resolve to lose the money that they drew from the Greeks, and which the latter received from the pilgrims.

However, all Adrianople was refounding with success acclamations of joy at the news of the ferafkier winter a-Capelan Ali's having, in the midft of the frost of venetians. the winter, retaken Canina and Valona from the Venetians, of which the latter had made themfelves mafters the preceding campaign, when the infirmities of the grand feignior turning to a dropfy, the uncafiness natural to fick people mortally attacked made this prince defirous of returning to Constantinople. The increase of the diforder prevented Kiuperli from going into Hungary in the beginning of the fpring, as he had intended. Several great officers talked fecretly of putting a fon of Mahomet IV. on Commotions to put the throne; the grand vizier on the contrary a fon of Mahomet claimed the usage in favor of Achmet, the brother IV. on the of the reigning emperor, and the eldeft of the Ot-Kiuperli toman princes after Mahomet IV. who was still living. The prudence and firmness of the grand vizier disconcerted their schemes; and when, on the 24th of June, the emperor was choaked Death of by the dropfy, for which the doctors had found the grand feignior. no remedy, no one prefumed to raife his voice

of Soly man II.

1.C. 1691 in favor of Mahomet or either of his children We have feen that Solyman bore no part in the great things done during his reign. It was the fate of the Kiuperlis to govern the Turks under weak princes, and to exercise at the same time the functions of a vigilant minister and the supreme authority of a despotic prince. Solyman, whose whole attention was directed to the fludy of the Alcoran still passes for a Saint among the Ottomans, who cannot confider him as a great monarch. Instead of great actions, they attribute miracles to him. It is faid. that water being wanted in the palace of Conftantinople, occasioned by a hard frost, Solyman made it appear all of a fudden in a marble bason to do the abdest with; and as soon as this duty was fulfilled, the water disappeared as it had come. The conduct of Solyman to his brother Mahomet IV. paints his character better than the puerilities reported of him by the devout Musfulmen. The deposed prince being taken ill in his prison, sent to beg the emperor to let him have physicians. Solyman replied, that, if these physicians, instead of relieving him, should cause his death by remedies badly administered, or that the violence of the disorder should carry him off notwithstanding their attention, it might be faid that the emperor had haftened his end; that it was better to leave Mahomet to Providence, who has numbered the days of mankind, and who would recover him better than

all the physicians together, or take him from the J.C. 1691.
world in spite of them. Mahomet got over this fickness, and was in fact indebted to nature alone for the health which the best remedies could not have rendered him more perfect. Solyman II. reigned three years and nine months.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

ERRATA.

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Page 17, line 17 .- For negociator, read negotiator.
       25, line 13. For was more, read was the more.
       52, line 10.
       29, line 29. For ascendancy, read ascendency,
       32, line 22 .- Put a comma after generations.
       53, line 8 .- For displined, read disciplined.
       63, line 1 .- For feet, read foot.
       73, line 9-10.
      153, line 28 .-
      220, line 25. For negociation, read negotiation.
      233, line 3 .-
et passim Vol. I. & II.
       75, line 10 .-
     ibid. line 16 .-
      131, line 9-10.
      156, line 26.- For negociate, read negotiate.
      167, line 26 .-
et passim Vol. I. & II.
      151, line 14 .- For conciliate favor, read conciliate the
et passim Vol. I. & II. For negociated, read negotiated.
      159, line 16 .- Dele the comma after faults.
      201, line 25.—Put a comma after man.
     204, line 17 .- For were, read was.
      225, line 22 .- For senfe, read sense.
      234, line 11. - Put a comma in the place of the femi-
          colon after the word Turks.
     255, line 26 .- For bey, read they.
     266, line 23 .- For was, read is.
     272, line 20 - For convoys, read provisions.
      292, line 6 of the note. - For mission, read place.
     308, line o .- For tolerable, read tolerably.
     317, line 20 .- For we rein, read were in.
     319, line 21 .- Put a comma after the word chief.
     320, line 9 .- Put a comma after Sobieski.
      324, line 12-13 .- Put a comma after murder.
      327, line 8 .- Put a comma after Poles.
     330, line 22 .- Dele the comma after be.
     334, line 2 .- For to live, read and to live:
     ibid. line 12 .- For bardness, read bardiness.
     381, line 21 .- For bonor, read order.
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